THE HISTORY OF MIDDLE-EARTH

CHRISTOPHER TOLKIEN

MORGOTH'S RING

10

J.R.R. TOLKIEN

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Morgoth's Ring

The Later Silmarillion
PART ONE
The Legends of Aman

Christopher Tolkien

HarperCollins*Publishers*

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HarperCollins*Publishers*
1 London Bridge Street
London SE1 9GF
www.tolkien.co.uk

www.tolkienestate.com

First published in Great Britain by HarperCollins*Publishers* 1993

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Source ISBN: 9780261103009
Ebook Edition © August 2021 ISBN: 9780008363697
Version: 2021-07-30

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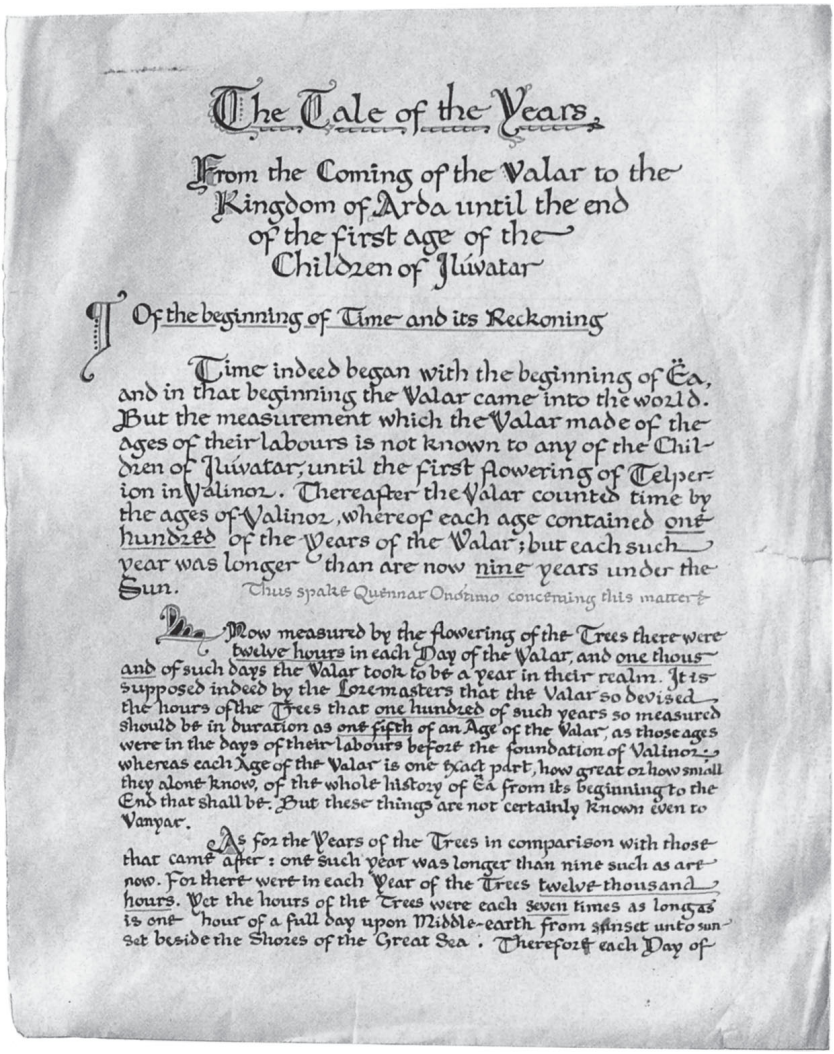

The Tale of the Years.

From the Coming of the Valar to the Kingdom of Arda until the end of the first age of the Children of Ilúvatar

Of the beginning of Time and its Reckoning

Time indeed began with the beginning of Ëa, and in that beginning the Valar came into the world. But the measurement which the Valar made of the ages of their labours is not known to any of the Children of Ilúvatar, until the first flowering of Telperion in Valinor. Thereafter the Valar counted time by the ages of Valinor, whereof each age contained one hundred of the Years of the Valar; but each such year was longer than are now nine years under the Sun. Thus spake Quénnar Onótimo concerning this matter:

Now measured by the flowering of the Trees there were twelve hours in each Day of the Valar, and one thousand of such days the Valar took to be a year in their realm. It is supposed indeed by the Loremasters that the Valar so devised the hours of the Trees that one hundred of such years so measured should be in duration as one fifth of an Age of the Valar, as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor; whereas each Age of the Valar is one exact part, how great or how small they alone know, of the whole history of Ëa from its beginning to the End that shall be. But these things are not certainly known even to Vanyar.

As for the Years of the Trees in comparison with those that came after: one such year was longer than nine such as are now. For there were in each Year of the Trees twelve-thousand hours. Yet the hours of the Trees were each seven times as long as is one hour of a full day upon Middle-earth from sunset unto sunset beside the Shores of the Great Sea. Therefore each Day of

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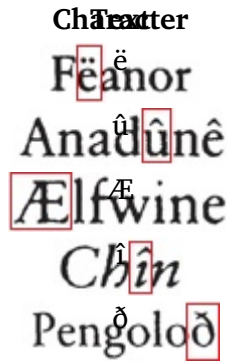

FOREWORD

The *Quenta Silmarillion*, with the *Ainulindalë*, the *Annals of Valinor*, and the *Annals of Beleriand*, as they stood when my father began *The Lord of the Rings* at the end of 1937, were published six years ago in *The Lost Road and Other Writings*. That was the first great break in the continuous development of *The Silmarillion* from its origins in *The Book of Lost Tales*; but while one may indeed regret that matters fell out as they did just at that time, when the *Quenta Silmarillion* was in sight of the end, it was not in itself disastrous. Although, as will be seen in Part One of this book, a potentially destructive doubt had emerged before my father finished work on *The Lord of the Rings*, nonetheless in the years that immediately followed its completion he embarked on an ambitious remaking and enlargement of all the Matter of the Elder Days, without departure from the essentials of the original structure.

The creative power and confidence of that time is unmistakable. In July 1949, writing to the publishers on the subject of a sequel to *Farmer Giles of Ham*, he said that when he had finally achieved *The Lord of the Rings* 'the released spring may do something'; and in a letter to Stanley Unwin of February 1950, when, as he said, that goal had been reached at last, he wrote: 'For me the chief thing is that I feel that the whole matter is now "exorcized", and rides me no more. I can turn now to other things …' It is very significant also, I believe, that at that time he was deeply committed to the publication of *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings* 'in conjunction or in connexion' as a single work, 'one long Saga of the Jewels and the Rings'.

But little of all the work begun at that time was completed. The new *Lay of Leithian*, the new tale of Tuor and the Fall of Gondolin, the *Grey Annals* (of Beleriand), the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, were all abandoned. I have little doubt that despair of publication, at least in the form that he regarded as essential, was the prime cause. The negotiations with Collins to publish both

works had collapsed. In June 1952 he wrote to Rayner Unwin:

> As for *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Silmarillion,* they are where they were. The one finished (and the end revised), and the other still unfinished (or unrevised), and both gathering dust. I have been both off and on too unwell, and too burdened to do much about them, and too downhearted. Watching paper-shortages and costs mounting against me. But I have rather modified my views. Better something than nothing! Although to me all are one, and the 'Lord of the Rings' would be better far (and eased) as part of the whole, I would gladly consider the publication of any part of this stuff. Years are becoming precious …

Thus he bowed to necessity, but it was a grief to him.

This second break was destructive — in the sense, that *The Silmarillion* would never now be finally achieved. In the years that followed he was overwhelmed: the demands of his position in the University, and the necessity of moving house, led him to declare that the preparation of *The Lord of the Rings* for publication, which should have been 'a labour of delight', had been 'transformed into a nightmare'. Publication was followed by a huge correspondence of discussion, explanation, and analysis, of which the examples retrieved and published in the volume of his letters provide abundant evidence. It seems not to have been until the end of the 1950s that he turned again seriously to the *Silmarillion* narrative (for which there was now an insistent demand). But it was too late. As will be seen in the latter part of this book, much had changed since (and, as I incline to think, in direct relation to) the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* and its immediate aftermath. Meditating long on the world that he had brought into being and was now in part unveiled, he had become absorbed in analytic speculation concerning its underlying postulates. Before he could prepare a new and final *Silmarillion* he must satisfy the requirements of a coherent theological and metaphysical system, rendered now more complex in its presentation by the supposition of obscure and conflicting elements in its roots and its tradition.

Among the chief 'structural' conceptions of the mythology that he pondered in those years were the myth of Light; the nature of Aman; the immortality (and death) of the Elves; the mode of their reincarnation; the Fall of Men and the length of their early history; the origin of the Orcs; and above all, the power and significance of Melkor-Morgoth, which was enlarged to become the ground and source of the corruption of Arda. For this reason I have chosen *Morgoth's Ring* as the title of this book. It derives from a passage in

my father's essay 'Notes on motives in the *Silmarillion*' (pp. 394 ff.), in which he contrasted the nature of Sauron's power, concentrated in the One Ring, with that of Morgoth, enormously greater, but dispersed or disseminated into the very matter of Arda: 'the whole of Middle-earth was Morgoth's Ring'.

Thus this book and (as I hope) its successor attempt to document two radically distinct 'phases': that following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings*, and that following its publication. For a number of reasons, however, I have found it more satisfactory in presentation to divide the material, not according to these two 'phases', but by separating the narrative into two parts. While this division is artificial, I have been able to include in this book a high proportion of all that my father wrote in the years after *The Lord of the Rings* was finished, both in narrative and discussion (to which must be added of course all the material in the volume of letters), concerning the Elder Days before the Hiding of Valinor. The next volume will contain, according to my intention, all or at any rate most of the original texts relating to the legends of Beleriand and the War of the Jewels, including the full text of the *Grey Annals* and a major narrative remaining unpublished and unknown, *The Wanderings of Húrin*.

The publication of the texts in this book makes it possible to relate, if not at all points or in every detail, the first eleven chapters (with the exception of Chapter II 'Of Aulë and Yavanna' and Chapter X 'Of the Sindar') of the published *Silmarillion* to their sources. This is not the purpose of the book, and I have not discussed the construction of the published text at large; I have presented the material in terms of its evolution from earlier forms, and in those parts that concern the revision and rewriting of the *Quenta Silmarillion* I have retained the paragraph numbers from the *pre-Lord of the Rings* text given in Volume V, so that comparison is made simple. But the (inevitably complex) documentation of the revised *Quenta Silmarillion* is intended to show clearly its very curious relationship to the *Annals of Aman*, which was a major consideration in the formation of the text in the first part of the published work.

I am much indebted to Mr Charles Noad, who has once again undertaken the onerous task of reading the text in proof independently and checking all references and citations with scrupulous care, to its great improvement.

I am very grateful for the following communications concerning Volume IX, *Sauron Defeated*. Mr John D. Rateliff has pointed out an entry in the diary of W. H. Lewis for 22 August 1946 (*Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis*, ed. C. S. Kilby and M. L. Mead, 1982, p. 194). In this entry Warnie Lewis recorded that at the Inklings meeting that evening my father read 'a magnificent myth which is to knit up and conclude his Papers of the Notions [*sic*] Club.' The myth is of course the Drowning of Anadûnê. I was present on this occasion but cannot recall it (in this connection see *Sauron Defeated* p. 389).

Mr William Hicklin has explained why John Rashbold, the undergraduate member of the Notion Club who never speaks, should bear the second name Jethro. In the Old Testament Moses' father-in-law is named both *Jethro* and *Reuel* (Exodus 2:18 and 3:1); thus *John Jethro Rashbold = John Reuel Tolkien* (see *Sauron Defeated* pp. 151, 160).

I was unable to explain the reference (pp. 277–8) to the retreat of the Danes from Porlock in Somerset to 'Broad Relic', but Miss Rhona Beare has pointed out that 'Broad Relic' and 'Steep Relic' are in fact names used in manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the islands of Flatholme and Steepholme at the mouth of the river Severn (see *The Lost Road and Other Writings* p. 80); according to Earle and Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (1892; II.128), 'The name "Relic" may point to some Irish religious settlements on these islands; "relicc" (= reliquiae) is the regular Irish name for a cemetery.'

Lastly, I should mention that after the text of this book was in print I added a discussion of the significance of the star-names that appear on p. 160 to the head-note to the Index.

PART ONE

AINULINDALË

AINULINDALË

The evidence is clear that when *The Lord of the Rings* was at last completed my father returned with great energy to the legends of the Elder Days. He was working on the new version of the *Lay of Leithian* in 1950 (III.330); and he noted (V.294) that he had revised the *Quenta Silmarillion* as far as the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien on 10 May 1951. The last page of the later *Tale of Tuor*, where the manuscript is reduced to notes before finally breaking off (*Unfinished Tales* p. 56), is written on a page from an engagement calendar bearing the date September 1951, and the same calendar, with dates in September, October, and November 1951, was used for riders to *Tuor* and the *Grey Annals* (the last version of the *Annals of Beleriand* and a close companion work to the *Annals of Aman*, the last version of the *Annals of Valinor*). The account, some ten thousand words long, of the 'cycles' of the legends, written to Milton Waldman of the London publisher Collins and given in part in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien* (no.131), was very probably written towards the end of that year.

Until recently I had assumed without question that every element in the new work on the Elder Days belonged to the years 1950 and 1951; but I have now discovered unambiguous evidence that my father had in fact turned again to the *Ainulindalë* some years before he finished *The Lord of the Rings*. As will be seen, this is no mere matter of getting the textual history right, but is of great significance.

I had long been aware of extremely puzzling facts in the history of the rewriting of the *Ainulindalë*. The fine pre-*Lord of the Rings* manuscript, lettered **'B'**, was described and printed in V.155 ff.; as I noted there (p. 156) 'the manuscript became the vehicle of massive rewriting many years later, when great changes in the cosmological conception had entered.' So drastic was the revision (with a great deal of new material written on the blank verso pages) that in the result two distinct texts of the work, wholly divergent in essential

respects, exist physically in the same manuscript. This new text I shall distinguish as '**C**'.

But there is another text, a typescript made by my father, that was also directly based on *Ainulindalë* B of the 1930s; and in this there appears a much more radical — one might say a devastating — change in the cosmology: for in this version the Sun is already in existence from the beginning of Arda. I shall refer to this typescript as '**C***'.

A peculiarity of C* is that for a long stretch it proceeds in very close relationship to C, but yet constantly differs from it, though always in quite insignificant ways. In many cases my father later *wrote in the C reading* on the typescript. I will illustrate this by a single example, a passage in §25 (p. 15). Here C*, as typed, has:

> But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed themselves in the form and temper some as of male and some as of female; and the choice that they made herein proceeded, doubtless, from that temper that each had from their uttermost beginning; for male and female are not matters only of the body any more than of the raiment.

The C text has here:

> But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed them in the form some as of male and some as of female; for that difference of temper they had even from their beginning, and it is but bodied forth in the choice of each, not made by the choice; even as with us male and female may be shown by the raiment, but is not made thereby.

Now in C this passage was written at the same time as what precedes it and what follows it — it is all of a piece; whereas in C* the original typed passage was struck through and the C text substituted in pencil.

There seemed no other explanation possible but that C* preceded C; yet it seemed extraordinary, even incredible, that my father should have *first* made a clear new typescript version from the old B manuscript and *then* returned to that manuscript to cover it somewhat chaotically with new writing — the more so since C* and C are for much of their length closely similar.

When working on *The Notion Club Papers* I found among rough notes and jottings on the Adûnaic language a torn half-sheet of the same paper as carries a passage from the *Ainulindalë*, written in pencil in my father's most rapid hand. While not proof that he was

working on the *Ainulindalë* so early as 1946 (the year to which I ascribe the development of Adûnaic, when *The Lord of the Rings* had been long halted and *The Return of the King* no more than begun: see IX. 12–13, 147) this strongly suggested it; and as will be seen in a moment there is certain evidence that the text C* was in existence by 1948. Moreover in a main structural feature C* follows this bit of text, as C does not (see p. 42); it seemed very probable therefore that C* was typed from a very rough text of which the torn half-sheet is all that remains.

Here it must be mentioned that on the first page of C* my father wrote later 'Round World Version', and (obviously at the same time) on the title-page of B/C he wrote 'Old Flat World Version' — the word 'Old' being a subsequent addition. It would obviously be very interesting to know when he labelled them thus; and the answer is provided by the following evidences. The first is a draft for a letter, undated and with no indication of whom he was addressing:

> These tales are feigned to be translated from the preserved works of Ælfwine of England (c.900 A.D.), called by the Elves Eriol, who being blown west from Ireland eventually came upon the 'Straight Road' and found Tol Eressëa the Lonely Isle.
>
> He brought back copies and translations of many works. I do not trouble you with the Anglo-Saxon forms. (The only trace of these is the use of *c* for *k* as in *Celeb-* beside *Keleb-*.)
>
> All these histories are told by Elves and are not primarily concerned with Men.
>
> I have ventured to include 2 others.
>
> (1) A 'Round World' version of the 'Music of the Ainur'.
>
> (2) A 'Man's' version of the *Fall of Númenor* told from men's point of view, and with names in a non-Elvish tongue. 'The Drowning of Anadūnē'. This also is 'Round World'.[1]
>
> The Elvish myths are 'Flat World'. A pity really but it is too integral to change it.

On the back of the paper he wrote: 'For the moment I cannot find the Tale called *The Rings of Power'*, and referred again in much the same terms to 'two other tales' that he was 'enclosing'.

There is another draft for this letter which, while again undated, was written from Merton College and addressed to Mrs. Katherine Farrer, the wife of Dr. Austin Farrer, theologian and at that time Chaplain of Trinity College:

Dear Mrs. Farrer,

These tales are feigned (I do not include their slender framework) to be translated from the preserved work of Ælfwine of England (c.900 A.D.), who being blown west from Ireland eventually came upon the 'straight road' and found the Lonely Isle, Tol Eressëa, beyond the seas.

There he learned ancient lore, and brought back translations and excerpts from works of Elvish lore. The specimen of the 'Anglo-Saxon' original is not included.

NB All these histories are told by the Elves, and are not primarily concerned with Men.

I have ventured to include, besides the 'Silmarillion' or main chronicle, one or two other connected 'myths': 'The Music of the Ainur', the Beginning; and the Later Tales:[2] 'The Rings of Power', and 'The Fall of Númenor', which link up with Hobbit-lore of the later or 'Third Age'.

Yours
JRRT

The end of this, from 'and the Later Tales', was struck out and marked 'not included'.

It cannot be doubted that these were drafts for the undated letter to Katherine Farrer which is printed as no.115 in *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, for though there is not much left from these drafts in that form of it, it contains the words 'I am distressed (for myself) to be unable to find the "Rings of Power", which with the "Fall of Númenor" is the link between the *Silmarillion* and the Hobbit world.'

My father said in the first of the two drafts given above that he was including in the materials to be lent to Katherine Farrer 'two others', one of which was 'a "Round World" version of the "Music of Ainur"'; and this can be taken to mean that he was giving her two versions, 'Flat World' and 'Round World'. Now there is preserved a portion of a letter to him from Katherine Farrer, and on this my father pencilled a date: 'October 1948'. She had by this time received and read what he had given to her, and in the course of her illuminating and deeply enthusiastic remarks she said: 'I like the Flat Earth versions best. The hope of Heaven is the only thing which makes modern astronomy tolerable: otherwise there must be an East and a West and Walls: aims and choices and not an endless circle of wandering.'

It must have been when he was preparing the texts for her that he wrote the words 'Flat World Version' and 'Round World Version' on the texts B/C and C* of the *Ainulindalë*. Beyond this one can only

go by guesswork; but my guess is that the 'Flat World Version' was the old B manuscript *before* it had been covered with the revisions and new elements that constitute version C. It may be that Katherine Farrer's opinion had some influence on my father in his decision to make this new version C on the old manuscript — deriving much of it from C*, and emending C* in conformity with new readings. Thus:

–*Ainulindalë* B, a manuscript of the 1930s. When lending this to Katherine Farrer in 1948 he wrote on it 'Flat World Version'.
–A new version, lost apart from a single torn sheet, written in 1946.
–A typescript, *Ainulindalë* C*, based on this text. When lending this in 1948 he wrote on it 'Round World Version'.
–*Ainulindalë* C, made after the return of the texts by covering the old B manuscript with new writing, and removing certain radically innovative elements present in C*.

It would in this way be entirely explicable how it came about that the typescript C* *preceded* the complicated and confusing revision (C) on the old manuscript — this being the precursor of the last version of the work that my father wrote, *Ainulindalë* '**D**', made in all probability not long after C.

Ainulindalë C* was thus an experiment, conceived and composed, as it appears, before the writing of *The Return of the King*, and certainly before *The Lord of the Rings* was finished. It was set aside; but as will appear later in this book, it was by no means entirely forgotten.

C* should therefore in strict chronology be given first; but in view of its peculiarities it cannot be made the base text. It is necessary therefore to change the chronological order, and I give first version C in full, following it with a full account of the development in the final text D, and postponing consideration of C* to the end of Part One.

Before giving the text of C, however, there is another brief document that has value for dating: this is a brief, isolated list of names and their definitions headed *Alterations in last revision 1951*.[3]

Atani N[oldorin] *Edain* = Western Men or Fathers of Men
Pengoloð[4]
Aman name of land beyond Pelóri or mountains of Valinor, of which Valinor is part
Melkor[5]

Arda Elvish name of Earth = our world. Also *Kingdom of Arda* = fenced region. Field of Arda.
Illuin Lamp of North = *Helkar*6
Ormal Lamp of South = *Ringil*6
Isle of Almaren in the Great Lake
Valaróma = Horn of Oromë
Eru = Ilúvatar
Ëa = Universe of that which Is

Not all these names were newly devised at this time, of course: thus *Eru* and *Arda* go back to my father's work on *The Notion Club Papers* and *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, as also does *Aman* (where however it was the Adûnaic name of Manwë).

In *Ainulindalë* C appear *Arda*, *Melkor*, and *Pelóri*, but the Lamps are called *Foros* and *Hyaras*, not *Illuin* and *Ormal*, and the Isle in the Great Lake is *Almar*, not *Almaren*. The final text D, as originally written, has *Atani*, *Almaren* and *Aman*, but *Aman* did not mean the Blessed Realm; the Lamps are named *Forontë* and *Hyarantë*, and the Horn of Oromë is *Rombaras*. These differences from the '1951 list' show that *Ainulindalë* D was made before that time.

I give now the text of *Ainulindalë* C in full. Since despite radical changes in the structure and the addition of much new material a good deal of the old form does survive, it is not really necessary to do so, but to give it partly in the form of textual notes would make the development very difficult to follow; and *Ainulindalë* C is an important document in the history of the mythological conception of the created Universe. The remodelling that constituted C out of B was in fact done at different times, and is in places chaotic, full of changes and substitutions; I do not attempt to disentangle the different layers, but give the final form after all changes, with a few developments that took place while C was in the making recorded in the notes that follow the text (p. 22). I have numbered the paragraphs as a convenient means of reference subsequently.

On the title-page the original words 'This was written by Rúmil of Tûn' (V.156) were extended thus:

This was written by Rúmil of Túna
and was told to Ælfwine in Eressëa
(as he records)
by Pengoloð the Sage

The form *Túna* for *Tûn* as the name of the city came in with the

earliest layer of emendation to QS (pre-*Lord of the Rings*, see V.225, §39). Since the city is *Tirion* in *The Lord of the Rings* it might be thought that this extension of the title was made in the earlier period; but in a later version of the title-page (p. 30) my father retained 'Rúmil of Túna', and in the *Annals of Aman* he frequently used *Túna* (beside *Tirion*) in general reference to 'the city on the hill' (see p. 90, §67).

It is not said in any of the title-pages to the texts of the earlier period that Pengoloð (Pengolod) actually instructed Ælfwine himself; he is cited as the author of works which Ælfwine saw and translated.[7]

The Music of the Ainur and the Coming of the Valar

These are the words that Pengoloð[8] spake to Ælfwine concerning the beginning of the World.

§1There was Ilúvatar, the All-father, and he made first the Ainur, the Holy Ones, that were the offspring of his thought, and they were with him before aught else was made. And he spoke to them, propounding to them themes of music, and they sang before him, and he was glad. But for a long while they sang only each alone, or but few together, while the rest hearkened; for each comprehended only that part of the mind of Ilúvatar from which he came, and in the understanding of their brethren they grew but slowly. Yet ever as they listened they came to deeper understanding, and increased in unison and harmony.

§2And it came to pass that Ilúvatar called together all the Ainur, and declared to them a mighty theme, unfolding to them things greater and more wonderful than he had yet revealed; and the glory of its beginning and the splendour of its end amazed the Ainur, so that they bowed before Ilúvatar and were silent.

§3Then said Ilúvatar: 'Of the theme that I have declared to you, I will now that ye make in harmony together a Great Music. And since I have kindled you with the Flame Imperishable, ye shall show forth your powers in adorning this theme, each with his own thoughts and devices, if he will. But I will sit and hearken and be glad that through you great beauty has been wakened into song.'

§4Then the voices of the Ainur, like unto harps and lutes, and pipes and trumpets, and viols and organs, and like unto countless

choirs singing with words, began to fashion the theme of Ilúvatar to a great music; and a sound arose of endless interchanging melodies, woven in harmony, that passed beyond hearing into the depths and into the heights, and the places of the dwelling of Ilúvatar were filled to overflowing, and the music and the echo of the music went out into the Void, and it was not void. Never since have the Ainur made any music like to this music, though it has been said that a greater still shall be made before Ilúvatar by the choirs of the Ainur and the Children of Ilúvatar after the end of days.[9] Then shall the themes of Ilúvatar be played aright, and take Being in the moment of their utterance, for all shall then understand his intent in their part, and shall know the comprehension of each, and Ilúvatar shall give to their thoughts the secret fire, being well pleased.

§5But now Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, and for a great while it seemed good to him, for in the music there were no flaws. But as the theme progressed, it came into the heart of Melkor to interweave matters of his own imagining that were not in accord with the theme of Ilúvatar; for he sought therein to increase the power and glory of the part assigned to himself. To Melkor among the Ainur had been given the greatest gifts of power and knowledge, and he had a share in all the gifts of his brethren; and he had gone often alone into the void places seeking the Imperishable Flame. For desire grew hot within him to bring into Being things of his own, and it seemed to him that Ilúvatar took no thought for the Void, and he was impatient of its emptiness. Yet he found not the Fire, for it is with Ilúvatar. But being alone he had begun to conceive thoughts of his own unlike those of his brethren.

§6Some of these thoughts he now wove into his music, and straightway discord arose about him, and many that sang nigh him grew despondent and their thought was disturbed and their music faltered; but some began to attune their music to his rather than to the thought which they had at first. Then the discord of Melkor spread ever wider, and the melodies that had been heard at first foundered in a sea of turbulent sound. But Ilúvatar sat and hearkened, until it seemed that about his throne there was a raging storm, as of dark waters that made war one upon the other in an endless wrath that would not be assuaged.

§7Then Ilúvatar arose, and the Ainur perceived that he smiled; and he lifted up his left hand, and a new theme began amid the storm, like and yet unlike to the former theme, and it gathered

power and had new beauty. But the discord of Melkor arose in uproar and contended with it, and there was again a war of sound more violent than before, until many of the Ainur were dismayed and played no longer, and Melkor had the mastery. Then again Ilúvatar arose, and the Ainur perceived that his countenance was stern; and he lifted up his right hand; and behold, a third theme grew amid the confusion, and it was unlike the others. For it seemed at first soft and sweet, a mere rippling of gentle sounds in delicate melodies, but it could not be quenched, and it grew, and it took to itself power and profundity. And it seemed at last that there were two musics progressing at one time before the seat of Ilúvatar, and they were utterly at variance. One was deep and wide and beautiful, but slow and blended with an immeasurable sorrow, from which its beauty chiefly came. The other had now achieved a unity of its own; but it was loud, and vain, and endlessly repeated, and it had little harmony, but rather a clamorous unison as of many trumpets braying upon a few notes. And it essayed to drown the other music by the violence of its voice, but it seemed that its most triumphant notes were taken by the other and woven into its own solemn pattern.

§8In the midst of this strife, whereat the halls of Ilúvatar shook and a tremor ran out into the silences yet unmoved, Ilúvatar arose a third time, and his face was terrible to behold. Then he raised up both his hands, and in one chord, deeper than the Abyss, higher than the Firmament, more glorious than the Sun, piercing as the light of the eye of Ilúvatar, the Music ceased.

§9Then Ilúvatar spoke, and he said: ‘Mighty are the Ainur, and mightiest among them is Melkor; but that he may know, and all the Ainur, that I am Ilúvatar, those things that ye have sung and played, lo! I will show them forth, that ye may see what ye have done. And thou, Melkor, shalt see that no theme may be played that has not its uttermost source in me, nor can any alter the music in my despite. For he that attempteth this shall be but mine instrument in the devising of things more wonderful, which he himself hath not imagined.’

§10Then the Ainur were afraid, and they did not yet comprehend the words that were said to them; and Melkor was filled with shame, of which came secret anger. But Ilúvatar arose in splendour, and he went forth from the fair regions that he had made for the Ainur; and the Ainur followed him.

§11But when they were come into the Void, Ilúvatar said to them: ‘Behold your Music!’ And he showed to them a vision, giving to them sight where before was only hearing; and they saw a new World made visible before them, and it was globed amid the Void, and it was sustained therein, but was not of it. And as they looked and wondered this World began to unfold its history, and it seemed to them that it lived and grew.

§12And when the Ainur had gazed for a while and were silent, Ilúvatar said again: ‘Behold your Music! This is your minstrelsy; and each of you that had part in it shall find contained there, within the design that I set before you, all those things which it may seem that he himself devised or added. And thou, Melkor, wilt discover all the secret thoughts of thy mind, and wilt perceive that they are but a part of the whole and tributary to its glory.’

§13And many other things Ilúvatar spoke to the Ainur at that time, and because of their memory of his words, and the knowledge that each has of the music which he himself made, the Ainur know much of what was, and is, and is to come, and few things are unseen by them. Yet some things there are that they cannot see, neither alone nor taking counsel together (as thou shalt hear, Ælfwine); for to none but himself has Ilúvatar revealed all that he has in store, and in every age there come forth things that are new and have no foretelling, for they do not spring from the past. And so it was that, as this vision of the World was played before them, the Ainur saw that it contained things which they had not thought. And they saw with amazement the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar, and the habitation that was prepared for them; and they perceived that they themselves in the labour of their music had been busy with the preparation of this dwelling, and yet knew not that it had any purpose beyond its own beauty. For the Children of Ilúvatar were conceived by him alone; and they came with the Third Theme,[10] and were not in the theme which Ilúvatar propounded at the beginning, and none of the Ainur had part in their making. Therefore when they beheld them, the more did they love them, being things other than themselves, strange and free, wherein they saw the mind of Ilúvatar reflected anew and learned yet a little more of his wisdom, which otherwise had been hidden even from the Holy Ones.

§14Now the Children of Ilúvatar are Elves and Men, the Firstborn and the Followers. And amid all the splendours of the

World, its vast halls and spaces, and its wheeling fires, Ilúvatar chose a place for their habitation in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars. And this habitation might seem a little thing to those who consider only the majesty of the Ainur, and not their terrible sharpness — as who should take the whole field of the Sun as the foundations of a pillar and so raise it until the cone of its summit was more bitter than a needle — or who consider only the immeasurable vastness of the World, which still the Ainur are shaping, and not the minute precision to which they shape all things therein. But thou must understand, Ælfwine, that when the Ainur had beheld this habitation in a vision and had seen the Children of Ilúvatar arise therein, then many of the most mighty of the Holy Ones bent all their thought and their desire towards that place. And of these Melkor was the chief, even as he was in the beginning the greatest of the Ainur who took part in the Music. And he feigned, even to himself at first, that he desired to go thither and order all things for the good of the Children of Ilúvatar, controlling the turmoils of the heat and the cold that had come to pass through him. But he desired rather to subdue to his will both Elves and Men, envying the gifts with which Ilúvatar promised to endow them; and he wished himself to have subjects and servants, and to be called Lord, and to be a master over other wills.

§15But the other Ainur looked upon this habitation in the Halls of Aman,[11] which the Elves call Arda, the Earth, and looking upon light they were joyful, and their eyes seeing many colours were filled with gladness; but because of the roaring of the sea they felt a great unquiet. And they observed the winds and the air, and the matters whereof the Middle-earth was made,[12] of iron and stone and silver and gold and many substances; but of all these water they most greatly praised. And it is said by the Eldar that in water there lives yet the echo of the Music of the Ainur, and many of the Children of Ilúvatar hearken still unsated to the voices of the sea, and yet know not for what they listen.

§16Now to water had that Ainu whom we call Ulmo most turned his thought, and of all most deeply was he instructed by Ilúvatar in music. But of the airs and winds Manwë most had pondered, who was the noblest of the Ainur. Of the fabric of Earth had Aulë thought, to whom Ilúvatar had given skill and knowledge scarce less than to Melkor; but the delight and pride of Aulë was in the deed of making, and in the thing made, and not in possession

nor in himself, wherefore he became a maker and teacher, and none have called him lord.

§17Now Ilúvatar spake to Ulmo and said: ‘Seest thou not here in this little realm in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars how Melkor hath made war upon thy province? He hath bethought him of bitter cold immoderate, and yet hath not destroyed the beauty of thy fountains, nor of thy clear pools. Behold the snow, and the cunning work of frost! Behold the towers and mansions of ice! Melkor hath devised heats and fire without restraint, and hath not dried up thy desire, nor utterly quelled the music of the sea. Behold rather the height and glory of the clouds, and the everchanging mists and vapours, and listen to the fall of rain upon the Earth! And in these clouds thou art drawn yet nearer to Manwë, thy friend whom thou lovest.’

§18Then Ulmo answered: ‘Yea, truly, Water is become now fairer than my heart imagined, neither had my secret thought conceived the snow-flake, nor in all my music was contained the falling of the rain. Lo! I will seek Manwë, that he and I may make melodies for ever and ever to thy delight!’ And Manwë and Ulmo have from the beginning been allied, and in all things have served most faithfully the purpose of Ilúvatar.

§19But behold! even as Ulmo spoke, and while the Ainur were yet gazing upon this vision, it was taken away and hidden from their sight; and it seemed to them that in that moment they perceived a new thing, Darkness, which they had not known before, except in thought. But they had become enamoured of the beauty of the vision, and engrossed in the unfolding of the World which came there to being, and their minds were filled with it; for the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away, and there was unrest among them.

§20Therefore Ilúvatar called to them and said: ‘I know the desire of your minds that what ye have seen should verily be, not only in your thought, but even as ye yourselves are, and yet other. Therefore I say: Let these things Be! And I will send forth the flame imperishable into the Void, and it shall be at the heart of the World, and the World shall Be; and those of you that will may go down into it.’ And suddenly the Ainur saw afar off a light, as it were a cloud with a living heart of flame; and they knew that this was no vision only, but that Ilúvatar had made a new thing.

§21Thus it came to pass that of the Holy Ones some abode still

with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World; but others, and among them many of the greatest and most fair, took the leave of Ilúvatar and descended into it. But this condition Ilúvatar made, or it is the necessity of their love, that their power should henceforth be contained and bounded in the World, and be within it for ever, so that they are its life and it is theirs. And therefore, Ælfwine, we name them the Valar, the Powers of the World.

§22But behold! when the Valar entered into the World they were at first astounded and at a loss, for it was as if naught was yet made which they had seen in vision, and all was but on point to begin, and yet unshapen; and it was dark. For the Great Music had been but the growth and flowering of thought in the Timeless Halls, and the Vision only a foreshowing; but now they had entered in at the beginning of Time, and the Valar perceived that the World had been but foreshadowed and foresung, and they must achieve it.

§23So began their great labours in wastes unmeasured and unexplored, and in ages uncounted and forgotten, until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar. And in this work the chief part was taken by Manwë and Aulë and Ulmo. But Melkor, too, was there from the first, and he meddled in all that was done, turning it, if he might, to his own desires and purposes; and he kindled great fires. When therefore Earth was young and full of flame Melkor coveted it, and he said to the Valar: ‘This shall be my own kingdom! And I name it unto myself!’

§24But Manwë was the brother of Melkor in the mind of Ilúvatar, and he was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor; and he called unto himself others of his kin and many spirits both greater and less, and they went down into the Halls of Aman and aided Manwë, lest Melkor should hinder the fulfilment of their labour for ever, and the Earth should wither ere it flowered. And Manwë said unto Melkor: ‘This kingdom thou shalt not take for thine own, wrongfully, for many others have laboured here no less than thou.’ And there was strife between Melkor and the Valar, and for a time Melkor departed and withdrew to other regions and did there what he would, but the Earth he could not put from his heart. For he was alone, without friend or companion, and he had as yet but small following; since of those that had attuned their music to his in the

beginning not all had been willing to go down with him into the World, and few that had come would yet endure his servitude.

§25But the Valar now took to themselves shape and form; and because they were drawn thither by love for the Children of Ilúvatar, for whom they hoped, they took shape after that manner which they had beheld in the Vision of Ilúvatar; save only in majesty and splendour, for they are mighty and holy. Moreover their shape comes of their knowledge and desire of the visible World, rather than of the World itself, and they need it not, save only as we use raiment, and yet we may be naked and suffer no loss of our being. Therefore the Valar may walk unclad, as it were, and then even the Eldar cannot clearly perceive them, though they be present. But when they clad themselves the Valar arrayed them in the form some as of male and some as of female; for that difference of temper they had even from their beginning, and it is but bodied forth in the choice of each, not made by the choice; even as with us male and female may be shown by the raiment, but is not made thereby. And Manwë and Ulmo and Aulë were as Kings; but Varda was the Queen of the Valar, and the spouse of Manwë, and her beauty was high and terrible and of great reverence. Yavanna was her sister, and Yavanna espoused Aulë; but Nienna dwells alone, even as does Ulmo. And these with Melkor are the Seven Great Ones of the Kingdom of Arda.13 But think not, Ælfwine, that the shapes wherein the Great Ones array themselves are at all times like unto the shapes of kings and queens of the Children of Ilúvatar; for at whiles they may clothe them in their own thought, made visible in forms terrible and wonderful. And I myself, long years agone, in the land of the Valar14 have seen Yavanna in the likeness of a Tree; and the beauty and majesty of that form could not be told in words, not unless all the things that grow in the earth, from the least unto the greatest, should sing in choir together, making unto their queen an offering of song to be laid before the throne of Ilúvatar.

§26And behold! the Valar drew unto them many companions, some less, some well-nigh as great as themselves, and they laboured in the ordering of the Earth, and the curbing of its tumults. Then Melkor saw what was done, and that the Valar walked upon Earth as powers visible, clad in the raiment of the World, and were lovely and glorious to see, and blissful; and that Earth was become as a garden for them, for its turmoils were subdued. His envy grew then the greater within him; and he also took visible form, but because

of his mood, and the malice that increased in him, that form was dark and terrible. And he descended upon Earth in power and majesty greater than any other of the Valar, as a mountain that wades in the sea and has its head above the clouds and is clad in ice and crowned with fire and smoke; and the light of his eyes was like a flame that withers with heat and pierces with a deadly cold.

§27Thus began the first battle of the Valar and Melkor for the dominion of Arda; and of those tumults we know but little; for know thou, Ælfwine, what I have declared unto thee is come from the Valar themselves, with whom we of the Eldalië spoke in the land of Valinor, and we were instructed by them; but little would they ever tell of the days of war ere the coming of the Elves. But this we know: that the Valar endeavoured ever, in despite of Melkor, to rule the Earth and to prepare it for the coming of the Children; and they built lands, and Melkor destroyed them; valleys they delved and Melkor raised them up; mountains they carved and Melkor threw them down; seas they hollowed and Melkor spilled them; and naught might come to peace or lasting growth, for as surely as the Valar began a labour so would Melkor undo it or corrupt it. And yet their labour was not vain, and slowly the Earth was shaped and made firm.

§28But of all such matters, Ælfwine, others shall tell thee, or thou shalt read in other lore; for it is not my part at this time to instruct thee in the history of the Earth. And now behold! here is the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar established at the last in the deeps of Time and amidst the innumerable stars. And here are the Valar, the Powers of the World, contesting for the possession of the jewel of Ilúvatar; and thus thy feet are on the beginning of the road.

Words of Pengolod[15]

§29And when he had ended the *Ainulindalë*, such as Rúmil had made it, Pengolod the Sage paused a while; and Ælfwine said to him: Little, you say, would the Valar tell to the Eldar of the days before their coming: but do not the wise among you know more of those ancient wars than Rúmil has here set forth? Or will you not tell me more of the Valar as they were when first your kindred beheld and knew them?

§30And Pengoloð answered: Much of what I know or have learned from the elders in lore, I have written; and what I have

written thou shalt read, if thou wilt, when thou hast learned better the tongue of the Noldor and their scripts. For these matters are too great and manifold to be spoken or to be taught in speech within the brief patience and heedfulness of those of mortal race. But some little more I may tell to thee now, since thou askest it of me.

§31 This tale I have heard also among the loremasters of the Noldor in ages past. For they tell us that the war began before Arda was full-shaped, and ere yet there was anything that grew or walked upon earth, and for long Melkor had the upper hand. But in the midst of the war a spirit of great strength and hardihood came to the aid of the Valar, hearing in the far heaven that there was battle in the Little World. And he came like a storm of laughter and loud song, and Earth shook under his great golden feet. So came Tulkas, the Strong and the Merry, whose anger passeth like a mighty wind, scattering cloud and darkness before it. And Melkor was shaken by the laughter of Tulkas, and fled from the Earth; and there was peace for a long age. And Tulkas remained and became one of the Valar of the kingdom of Arda; but Melkor brooded in the outer darkness, and his hate was given to Tulkas for ever after. In that time the Valar brought order to the seas and the lands and the mountains, and they planted seeds; and since, when the fires had been subdued or buried beneath the primeval hills, there was need of Light they wrought two mighty lamps for the enlightening of the Middle-earth which they had built amid the Encircling Seas, and they set the lamps upon high pillars, loftier far than any of the mountains of the later days. And one they raised near to the North of Middle-earth, and it was named Foros; and the other they raised in the South, and it was called Hyaras.[16] And the light of the lamps of the Valar went out over the Earth so that all was lit as it were in a changeless day. Then the seeds that the Valar had planted began swiftly to sprout and to burgeon, and there arose a multitude of growing things great and small, grasses, and flowers of many colours, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains[17] but whose feet were wrapped in the shadow of their mighty limbs. And beasts and birds came forth and dwelt in the green plains or in the rivers and the lakes, or walked in the darkness of the woods. And richest was the growth of plant and beast in the midmost parts of the Earth where the lights of both lamps met and were blended. And there upon the isle of Almar[18] in a great lake was the first dwelling of the gods, when all things were

new, and green was yet a marvel in the eyes of the makers.

§32But at length Melkor returned in secret, and far in the North where the light of Foros was only dim he made a hidden dwelling. And he sent forth his power and turned again to evil much that had been well begun, so that fens became rank and poisonous and forests perilous and full of fear, and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory and dyed the Earth with blood. And when he saw his time he revealed himself and made war again on the Valar, his brethren; and he threw down the lamps, and a new darkness fell on the Earth, and all growth ceased; and in the fall of the lamps (which were very great) the seas were lifted up in fury, and many lands were drowned. And the Valar at that time had long dwelt upon an island in the midst of the Earth,[19] but now they were forced to depart again; and they made their home in the uttermost West,[20] and they fortified it; and they built many mansions in that land upon the borders of the World which is called Valinor; and to fence that land from the East they built the Pelóri Valion,[21] the Mountains of Valinor that were the highest upon Earth. Thence they came with war against Melkor; but he had grown in stature and malice, so that they could not at that time either overcome him or take him captive, and he escaped from their wrath and built himself a mighty fortress in the North of Middle-earth, and delved great caverns underground, and gathered there many lesser powers that seeing his greatness and growing strength were now willing to serve him; and the name of that strong and evil place was Utumno.

§33Thus it was that Earth lay wrapped in darkness again, save in Valinor, as the ages drew on to the hour appointed for the coming of the Firstborn of the Children of Ilúvatar. And in the darkness Melkor dwelt, and still often walked abroad in Middle-earth; and he wielded cold and fire, from the tops of the mountains to the deep furnaces that are beneath them, and whatsoever was violent or cruel or deadly in those days was laid to his charge.

§34And in Valinor dwelt the Valar and all their kin and folk, and because of the bliss and beauty of that land they came seldom to Middle-earth. Yet Yavanna, to whom all things that grow are dear, forsook not the Earth[22] utterly, and leaving the house of Aulë and the light of Valinor she would come at times and heal the hurts of Melkor; and returning she would ever urge the Valar to that war with his evil power that they must surely wage ere the coming of the Firstborn. And Oromë also, the hunter, rode at whiles in the

darkness of the unlit forests, sounding his mighty horn, whereat the shadows of Utumno, and even Melkor himself, would flee away.

§35In the midst of the Blessed Realm Aulë dwelt, and laboured long, for in the making of all things in that land he had the chief part; and he wrought there many fair and shapely things both openly and in secret. Of him comes the love and knowledge of the Earth and of all those things that it contains, whether the lore of those who do not make but seek only for the understanding of what is, studying the fabric of the Earth and the blending and mutation of its elements, or the lore of all craftsmen: the tiller and the husbandman, the weaver, the shaper of wood, or the forger of metals. [And Aulë we name the Friend of the Noldor, for of him they learned much in after days, and they are the wisest and most skilled of the Elves. And in their own fashion, according to their own gifts which Ilúvatar gave to them, they added much to his teaching, delighting in tongues and alphabets and in the figures of broidery, of drawing, and of carving. And the Noldor it was who achieved the invention of gems, which were not in the world before their coming; and the fairest of all gems were the Silmarils, and they are lost.]23

§36But Manwë Súlimo, highest and holiest of the Valar, sat upon the borders of the West, forsaking not in his thought the Outer Lands. For his throne was set in majesty upon the pinnacle of Taniquetil, which was the highest of the mountains of the world, standing upon the margin of the Seas. Spirits in the shape of hawks and eagles flew ever to and from his halls; and their eyes could see to the depths of the sea and could pierce the hidden caverns under the world, and their wings could bear them through the three regions of the firmament beyond the lights of heaven to the edge of Darkness. Thus they brought word to him of well nigh all that passed in Aman:24 yet some things were hidden even from the eyes of Manwë, for where Melkor sat in his dark thought impenetrable shadows lay. With Manwë dwelt Varda the most beautiful, whom the Noldor name Elbereth, Queen of the Valar; she it was who wrought the stars. And the children of Manwë and Varda are Fionwë Úrion their son, and Ilmarë their daughter;25 and these were the eldest of the children of the Valar. They dwelt with Manwë, and with them were a great host of fair spirits in great blessedness. Elves and Men revere Manwë most of all the Valar, for he has no thought for his own honour, and is not jealous of his

power, but ruleth all to peace. [The Lindar he loved most of all the Elves, and of him they received song and poesy. For poesy is the delight of Manwë, and the song of words is his music.]26 Behold, the raiment of Manwë is blue, and blue is the fire of his eyes, and his sceptre is of sapphire which the Noldor wrought for him; and he is King of the world of gods and elves and men, and the chief defence against Melkor.

§37But Ulmo was alone, and he abode not in Valinor, but dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean, as he still does; and thence he governed the flowing of all waters, and the courses of all rivers, the replenishment of springs and the distilling of rain and dew throughout the world. In the deep places he gives thought to music great and terrible; and the echo thereof runs through all the veins of the Earth,27 and its joy is as the joy of a fountain in the sun whose springs are in the wells of unfathomed sorrow at the foundations of the world. The Teleri learned much of him, and for this reason their music has both sadness and enchantment. Salmar came with him, who made the conches of Ulmo; and Ossë and Uinen, to whom he gave control of the waves and of the inner seas; and many other spirits beside. And thus even under the darkness of Melkor life coursed still through many secret lodes, and the Earth did not die; and ever afterward to all who were lost in that darkness or wandered far from the light of the Valar the ear of Ulmo was open, nor has he ever forsaken Middle-earth, and whatsoever may since have befallen of ruin or change he has not ceased to take thought for it, nor will until the end.28

§38After the departure of the Valar there was silence for an age, and Ilúvatar sat alone in thought. Then Ilúvatar spake, and he said: ‘Behold I love the world, and it is a mansion for Elves and Men. But the Elves shall be the fairest of earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive more beauty than all my children, and they shall have greater bliss in this world. But to Men I will give a new gift.’

§39Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to fashion their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else. And of their operation everything should be, in shape and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. Lo! even we, Elves, have found to our sorrow that Men have a

strange power for good or ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not master of the children of Men; yet are they blind, and their joy is small, which should be great.

§40But Ilúvatar knew that Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their gift in harmony; and he said: 'These too, in their time, shall find that all they do redounds at the end only to the glory of my work.' Yet the Elves say that Men are often a grief even unto Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For Men resemble Melkor most of all the Ainur, and yet he hath ever feared and hated them, even those who served him.[29] It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and yet are not bound to it, and depart whither we know not. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and their love of the world is deeper, therefore, and more sorrowful. But they die not, till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief — for to both these seeming deaths they are subject — nor does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn in their children. But the sons of Men die indeed, and leave the World; wherefore they are called the Guests, or the Strangers. Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar unto them, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor hath cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope. Yet it is said that they will join in the Second Music of the Ainur, whereas Ilúvatar has not revealed what he purposes for Elves and Valar after the World's end; and Melkor has not discovered it.

NOTES

1It was not until after the publication of *Sauron Defeated* that I remembered the existence of this reference to *The Drowning of Anadûnê* as 'a "Man's" version of the *Fall of Númenor* told from men's point of view', and the description of it as 'Round World': see IX.394–5, 406.

2The first page of the third version of *The Fall of Númenor* (IX.331) is headed The Last Tales', and the tale itself numbered '1'.

3I have referred to this list before, in V.294 and 338. In the latter

passage I took the 'revision' to be that of the *Quenta Silmarillion*; but since not all the names in the list occur in it the reference may be more general.

4*Pengoloð*: i.e. not *Pengolod*. See note 15.

5*Melkor*: i.e. not *Melko*; see V.338.

6The names *Helkar* and *Ringil* were struck through at the time of writing; this was a shorthand, meaning '*Illuin* and *Ormal* replace *Helkar* and *Ringil*, which are rejected.' See note 16.

7On Ælfwine in Tol Eressëa see my summary in IX.279–80.

8Rúmil in *Ainulindalë* B (V.156).

9See V. 164 note 2.

10There was no suggestion in the earlier versions that the Children of Ilúvatar entered the Music with the Third Theme.

11Here and in §24 my father wrote *the Halls of Anar*, changing *Anar* to *Aman* later (cf. notes 13 and 24). On the use of these names see pp. 28, 44.

12See V. 164 note 9.

13*Kingdom of Arda* replaced *Kingdom of Anar* at the time of writing; cf. note 11.

14Pengoloð refers to the time before the Flight of the Noldor.

15These words were pencilled lightly on the manuscript. The name is clearly spelt *Pengolod* here and in the paragraph that follows, but *Pengoloð* in §30.

16In the *Ambarkanta* the northern lamp was *Helkar*, the southern *Ringil*; see p. 7 and note 6, and IV.256.

17In the *Quenta Silmarillion* §38 (V.222), repeating the words of the *Quenta* (IV.87), it was said that 'the first flowers that ever were east of the Mountains of the Gods' bloomed on the western shores of Tol Eressëa in the light of the Trees that came through the Pass of Kalakilya.

18The name of the isle was first written *Eccuilë*, changed at once to *Eremar*, which was subsequently altered to *Almar* (*Almaren* in the list of alterations made in 1951, p. 7).

19The concluding sentence of §31 concerning the dwelling of the Valar on 'the isle of Almar in a great lake' was an addition to the main body of the new text; hence the repetition here.

20My father first wrote here: 'in the uttermost parts of Andúnë'.

21The name *Pelóri* (*Valion*) first occurs here; it is found also (under *Aman*) in the list of alterations made in 1951 (p. 7).

22My father first wrote here 'world', changing it at once to 'earth',

which I have capitalised — as also at two other occurrences: capitalisation is inconsistent in *Ainulindalë* C, partly owing to the retention of passages from the original text B.

23 The square brackets enclosing this passage (developed from *Ainulindalë* B, V.162) probably imply its proposed exclusion.

24 The words *in Aman* were added later, at the same time as the change of *the Halls of Anar* to *the Halls of Aman* in §§15, 24 (see note 11).

25 See V.165 note 20.

26 As note 23.

27 *Ainulindalë* B has 'all the veins of the world': this was changed to 'of the Earth', I think simply to avoid repetition, since the sentence ends with 'the foundations of the world'.

28 From this point there is no indication on the manuscript of my father's intention, but in view of the next version D it seems clear that we are to continue with the concluding portion of the old B text (from 'After the departure of the Valar …', V.163). In D, however, there is an intervening passage (see pp. 35–6) that makes the conclusion more integral with what precedes. — These final paragraphs (§§38–40) were left largely unchanged (though with significant alterations in §40) from the text of B, but I give it in full in order to provide a complete text at this point.

29 This was changed from the B version 'For Men resemble Melko most of all the Ainur, and yet have ever feared and hated him.'

Commentary on the Ainulindalë text C

The revision C introduces a radical re-ordering of the original matter of the *Ainulindalë*, together with much that is new; and it is easiest to show this in the form of a table. This table is in no sense a synopsis of the content, but simply a scheme to show the structural interrelations.

B	C
The playing of the Music	
Discord of Melkor, the Three Themes	
Declaration of Ilúvatar to the Ainur: the Music forth	Ilúvatar to the Ainur: the Music forth
Ainur, the things they	Ainur, the things they
Melko has introduced into the Design	Melko has introduced into the Design
The Ainur see the World in vision	The Ainur see the World in vision
	The Children of Ilúvatar

Elves and Men made by Ilúvatar alone; the love of the Ainur for them
Desire of the Ainur for the World, and the desire of Melkor to have dominion in it

Joy of the Ainur in the elements of the Earth
Ulmo's concern with waters, Manwë's with the airs, Aulë's with the fabric of the Earth
Desire of the Ainur for the World, and the desire of Melko to have dominion in it
Elves and Men made by Ilúvatar alone; nature of the Children and their relations with the Ainur

The vision of the World taken away; unrest of the Ainur
Ilúvatar gives Being to the vision
Entry of the Ainur into the World
Melko walked alone; Ulmo dwelt in the Outer Ocean; Aulë in Valinor; Manwë with Varda in Taniquetil. Relations with the Teleri, Noldor, Lindar
The forms taken by the Valar, some male, some female
The World unshaped; agelong labours of the Valar

Strife between Melkor and the Valar; withdrawal of Melkor from the Earth
The forms taken by the Valar, some male, some female: 'I have seen Yavanna'
Melkor's return; first battle of the Valar for the dominion of Arda; elemental strife

End of the Ainulindalë of Rúmil told to Ælfwine by Pengoloð

Words of Pengoloð

Question of Ælfwine and reply of Pengoloð:
Coming of Tulkas and rout of Melkor
Building of the Lamps. Earth illumined; arising of birds and beasts and flowers
Dwelling of the Valar on the island in the great lake
Secret return of Melkor; blight and monstrosity spread from his hidden dwelling in the North; he cast down the Lamps
Retreat of the Valar into the West and foundation of Valinor
The Valar came with war against Melkor but could not overcome him; Melkor built Utumno
Melkor walked abroad in Middle-earth

The Valar came seldom to Middle-earth save Yavanna and Oromë
Aulë dwelt in Valinor; Manwë with Varda on Taniquetil; Ulmo in the Outer Ocean. Relations with the Noldor, Lindar, Teleri

After the departure of the Valar, Ilúvatar's silence, and then his declaration concerning Elves and Men: the gift of freedom and death to Men; nature of the immortality of the Elves

End of the Ainulindalë spoken by Rúmil to Ælfwine

The central shift in the myth of the Creation lies of course in the fact that in the old form, when the Ainur contemplate the World and find joy in its contemplation and desire it, the World has been given Being by Ilúvatar, whereas in C it is a Vision that has not

been given Being. With this may be compared my father's words in the account of his works written for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no.131, p. 146):

> They [the Valar] are 'divine', that is, were originally 'outside' and existed 'before' the making of the world. Their power and wisdom is derived from their Knowledge of the cosmogonical drama, which they perceived first as a drama (that is as in a fashion we perceive a story composed by someone else), and later as a 'reality'.

In the Vision, moreover, in which the Ainur see the unfolding of the history of the World as yet unmade, they see the arising within it of the Children of Ilúvatar (§13); and when the Vision is made real and the Ainur descend into the World, it is their knowledge and love of the Children of Ilúvatar who are to be that directs their shape and form when they make themselves visible (§25). Several passages in letters of my father from the years 1956–8 bear closely on these conceptions (see *Letters* nos.181, 200, 212).

But the nature and extent of the *Ainulindalë* is also greatly changed; it contains now the first battle of Melkor with the Valar for the dominion of Arda, but it does not contain the original concluding passage concerning Ilúvatar's Gift to Men, nor the accounts of Manwë, Ulmo and Aulë: these latter, together with much new material concerning the first wars in Arda, are placed in a sort of Appendix, the Words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine. This is reminiscent of the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales*, with Ælfwine (Eriol) appearing in person as questioner.

In the pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts Melko's part in the beginning of Earth's history was conceived far more simply. As late as the *Ambarkanta* (IV.238) the story was that

> the Valar coming into the World descended first upon Middle-earth at its centre, save Melko who descended in the furthest North. But the Valar took a portion of land and made an island and hallowed it, and set it in the Western Sea and abode upon it, while they were busied in the exploration and first ordering of the World. As is told they desired to make lamps, and Melko offered to devise a new substance of great strength and beauty to be their pillars. And he set up these great pillars north and south of the Earth's middle yet nearer to it than the chasm; and the Gods placed lamps upon them and the Earth had light for a while.

In the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.208) and the *Later Annals of Valinor* (V. 110–11) there is no suggestion that Melko departed from the Earth after the first coming of the Valar, and indeed the cosmology described in the *Ambarkanta* could not allow of it: as I said in my commentary (IV.253):

> It is not indeed explained in the *Ambarkanta* how the Valar entered the world at its beginning, passing through the impassable Walls, and perhaps we should not expect it to be. But the central idea at this time is clear: from the Beginning to the Great Battle in which Melko was overthrown, the world with all its inhabitants was inescapably bounded; but at the very end, in order to extrude Melko into the Void, the Valar were able to pierce the Walls by a Door.

The far more complex account in the new work of the movements of Melkor and of his strife with the Valar is an indication at once, therefore, that shifts have taken place in the cosmology.

In the *Ainulindalë* proper it is now told that Melkor entered the World with the other Ainur at the beginning — he 'was there from the first', and claimed Earth for his own (§23); but he was alone, and unable to resist the Valar, and he 'withdrew to other regions' (§24). There followed the labours of the Valar 'in the ordering of the Earth, and the curbing of its tumults', and Melkor saw from afar that 'Earth was become as a garden for them'; then in envy and malice he 'descended upon Earth' to begin 'the first battle of the Valar and Melkor for the dominion of Arda' (§§26–7). The words 'Earth was become as a garden for them' are not to be interpreted as a reference to the 'Spring of Arda', for the description of this follows in the Words of Pengoloð; where appears also the wholly new element that Tulkas was not one of the Ainur who entered the World at the beginning, but came only when 'in the far heaven' he heard of the war 'in the Little World' (§31).

Then follows the building of the Lamps and the Spring of Arda; for Melkor had fled from the Earth a second time, routed by Tulkas, and 'brooded in the outer darkness'. At the end of 'a long age' he came back in secret to the far North of Middle-earth, whence his evil power spread, and whence he came against the Valar in renewed war, and cast down the Lamps (§32). Then the Valar departed from the island of Almar in the great lake and made their dwelling in the uttermost West; and from Valinor they came against Melkor again. But they could not defeat him; and at that time he

built Utumno. There are thus four distinct periods of strife between Melkor and the Valar, and he departed out of Arda and returned to it twice.

We are brought therefore to the forbidding problem of the underlying conception of the World in this phase of my father's later work. In the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales* Ilúvatar 'fashioned [for the Ainur] dwellings in the void, and dwelt among them' (I.52); at the end of the Music he 'went forth from his dwellings, past those fair regions he had fashioned for the Ainur, out into the dark places' (I.55); and 'when they reached the midmost void they beheld a sight of surpassing beauty and wonder where before had been emptiness': 'the Ainur marvelled to see how the world was globed amid the void and yet separated from it' (I.55–6). This may not be a simple conception, but it is pictorially simple. In *Ainulindalë* B it was not changed (V.159). In the *Ambarkanta* 'the World' (*Ilu*) is 'globed' within the invisible, impassable Walls of the World (*Ilurambar*), and 'the World is set amid Kúma, the Void, the Night without form or time' (IV.235–7). I take these accounts to be in agreement. 'The World' comprises 'the Earth' (*Ambar*), the region of the heavenly bodies that pass over it, and the Outer Sea (*Vaiya*), 'more like to sea below the Earth and more like to air above the Earth', which enfolds or 'englobes' all (IV.236).

In C, likewise, Ilúvatar 'went forth from the fair regions that he had made for the Ainur', and they came into the Void (§§10–11). There Ilúvatar showed them a Vision, 'and they saw a new World … globed amid the Void, and it was sustained therein, but was not of it' (repeating the words of B, though they were here written out anew). But then it is said in C (§14) that 'amid all the splendours of the World, its vast halls and spaces, and its wheeling fires, Ilúvatar chose a place for their habitation [i.e. the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar] in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the innumerable Stars.' This habitation is 'Arda, the Earth', which is 'in the Halls of Aman' (§15). When Ilúvatar gave Being to the Vision, he said (§20): 'Let these things Be! And I will send forth the flame imperishable into the Void, and it shall be at the heart of the World, and the World shall Be; and those of you that will may go down into it.' Some of the Ainur 'abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World' (§21); but those who 'entered into the World' (§22) are the Valar, the Powers of the World, and they laboured 'in

wastes unmeasured and unexplored … until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar' (§23). It is also said (§24) that the lesser spirits who aided Manwë 'went down into the Halls of Aman'. It is clear that 'the Halls of Aman' are equivalent to 'the World' (and indeed in the following text D the reading of C in §23 'the vast halls of the World' becomes 'the vast halls of Aman'). I am unable however to cast any light on the use of the name *Aman* in the later *Ainulindalë* texts. In *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, where it first appeared, it was the Adûnaic name of Manwë, but that meaning is surely not present here.

It emerges then that the word 'World' is explicitly used in a new sense. In the *Ambarkanta* diagram I (IV.243) Ilu *is* 'the World', the Earth and Sky, two halves of a globe itself globed within Vaiya. In C Arda, the Earth, the habitation of Elves and Men, is *within* 'the World', 'the Halls of Aman'. The evident fact that my father also used 'World' in another sense in C (the clearest case being 'that land upon the borders of the World which is called Valinor', §32) does not make matters any easier, but does not contradict this distinction.

In order to understand the implications of this change, it must first be asked: What can be said of the nature of *Arda* in this new conception?

In the *Ambarkanta* diagram I my father long afterwards changed the title-word *Ilu* to *Arda* (IV.242). He would scarcely have done this if the conceptions behind the two names did not continue to bear a substantial resemblance to each other. *Arda*, then, retains major characteristics of the image of *Ilu*, and this is shown by what is said in the text of C itself: as that Ulmo 'dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean' and the echo of his music 'runs through all the veins of the Earth' (§37), or that the spirits flying from Manwë's halls in the shape of hawks and eagles were borne by their wings '*through the three regions of the firmament*' (§36).

On this basis it may be said that the major difference in the new conception is that while Arda is physically the same as Ilu, it is no longer 'the World globed amid the Void': for Arda is within 'the World' — which is itself 'globed amid the Void' (§11).

But we at once meet with a serious difficulty — and there was no second *Ambarkanta* to help in resolving it. For 'the World', 'the

Halls of Aman', which surrounds Arda, is not the Void: though Arda 'might seem a little thing to those … who consider only the immeasurable vastness of the World' (§14), the World is spatially defined ('globed', §11), and it contains 'splendours … and wheeling fires'; and Ilúvatar chose the habitation of the Children, which is Arda, 'in the midst of the innumerable Stars'. How can this possibly be brought into agreement with the idea (IV.241, 243) of the Tinwë-mallë, the path of the stars, which is the 'middle air' of Ilmen, the second region of the firmament of Ilu? Yet in C (§36) the spirits that fly from Taniquetil pass through 'the three regions of the firmament *beyond the lights of heaven to the edge of Darkness*'. Since this derives without change from B (V.162), and since C is a reworking of the actual B manuscript, it might be thought that this passage was retained unintentionally; but in fact it comes in a part of the text that was written entirely anew, not emended on the original manuscript (much of C was written anew even when the old text was being largely followed).

It has been seen (p. 27) that the greatly enlarged history of Melkor and the Valar in the beginning depends in part on the changed cosmology, for he twice departed out of Arda. This raises the question of the passage of the Walls of the World, and indeed of the form which that conception now took: for, as will be seen, the idea of the Walls had not been abandoned. But I postpone further discussion of this baffling topic until subsequent texts that bear on it are reached.

Ainulindalë D

This next version of the *Ainulindalë* is a manuscript of unusual splendour, with illuminated capitals and a beautiful script, in which for a part of its length my father made use of Anglo-Saxon letter-forms — even to the extent of using old abbreviations, as the letter 'thorn' with a stroke across the stem for 'that'. This feature at once associates it closely with *Ainulindalë* C, where in the long passages of new text written on the old manuscript he did the same here and there. There can in any case be little question that this new version belongs closely in time with C, which was a very difficult and chaotic text and had to be given more lucid form; and it shares the common characteristic of the various series of my father's manuscripts of beginning as a close (indeed in this case almost an

exact) copy of the exemplar but diverging more and more markedly as it proceeds. In this case I give the full text only for certain passages, and for the rest list the changes (other than a small number of slight stylistic changes of a word or two without significance for the conception) by reference to the paragraphs of C.

The text of D was subsequently emended, though not very heavily, in several 'layers', the earlier made with care, the later roughly; where of any importance these are shown as such in the textual representation that follows.

D has a fine separate title-page, with *Ainulindalë* in tengwar, and then:

Ainulindalë
The Music of the
Ainur
This was made by Rúmil of Túna in the Elder Days.
It is here written as it was spoken in Eressëa to
Ælfwine by Pengoloð the Sage. To it are added the
further words that Pengoloð spoke at that time
concerning the Valar, the Eldar and the Atani; of
which more is said hereafter

The first page of the text is headed *Ainulindalë* (written also in tengwar), and is then as in C (p. 8), with the following added subsequently: 'First he recited to him the Ainulindalë as Rúmil made it.'

§13 '(as thou shalt hear, Ælfwine)' omitted.

§14 'the whole field of the Sun'; D 'the whole field of Arda'

§15 'the Halls of Aman' as in C; not subsequently emended (see p. 37).

§16 As written, D retained the reading of C: 'and not in possession nor in himself, wherefore he became a maker and teacher, and none have called him Lord.' This was emended to: 'and neither in possession nor in his own mastery; wherefore he gives and hoards not, and is free from care, passing ever on to some new work.' The new text being in the present tense conflicts with 'the delight … of Aulë was in the deed of making' just preceding.

§17 'Behold the towers and mansions of ice!' omitted, perhaps inadvertently.

§19 After 'when the vision was taken away' there is a footnote that

seems to have been an early addition:

> And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World. Quoth Pengoloð.

§20 Before 'Let these things Be!' the word *'Ea!'* was added subsequently; and after 'Ilúvatar had made a new thing' was added 'Ea, the World that Is.'

§23 'in the midst of the vast halls of the World'; D 'in the midst of the vast halls of Aman'; 'Aman' here later emended to 'Ea' (see note 15 above, and p. 37).

§24 'they went down into the Halls of Aman'; D 'they came down into the fields of Arda'

'but the Earth he could not put from his heart'; D 'but he did not put the desire of the kingdom of Arda from his heart'

The concluding passage of this paragraph, from 'For he was alone, without friend or companion …', omitted.

§25 'shape and form'; 'form' emended in D to 'hue'.

§27 'But this we know:'; D 'But this said Rúmil in the end of the *Ainulindalë* which I have recounted to thee:'

'the coming of the Children'; D 'the coming of the Firstborn'

'And yet their labour was not vain, and slowly the Earth was shaped and made firm'; D 'And yet their labour was not all in vain; and though nowhere and in no work was their will and purpose wholly fulfilled, and all things were in hue and shape other than the Valar had at first intended, slowly nonetheless the Earth was fashioned and made firm.'

§Heading before §29: 'Words of Pengolod'; D 'Here are the words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine'

§29 'Pengolod'; D 'Pengoloð' (but 'Pengoloð' in C §30)

§31 'the loremasters of the Noldor'; D 'the loremasters'

'the Little World'; D 'the Little Kingdom'

After the passage about the coming of Tulkas in §31 the text of D shows so many changes from C that I give the next part in full.

In that time the Valar brought order to the seas and the lands and the mountains, and Yavanna planted at last the seeds that she had long devised. And since, when the fires had been subdued or buried

beneath the primeval hills, there was need of light, Aulë wrought two mighty lamps for the enlightenment of the Middle-earth which he had built amid the Encircling Seas. Then Varda filled the lamps and Manwë hallowed them, and the Valar set them upon high pillars, more lofty far than are any mountains of the later days. One lamp they raised near to the North of Middle-earth, and it was named [Forontë >] Illuin; and the other was raised in the South, and it was named [Hyarantë >] Ormal; and the light of the Lamps of the Valar flowed out over the Earth, so that all was lit as it were in a changeless Day.

Then the seeds that Yavanna had sown began swiftly to sprout and to burgeon, and there arose a multitude of growing things great and small, [grasses, and flowers of many hues, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains, so tall were they, >] mosses and grasses, and great ferns, and trees whose tops were crowned with cloud as they were living mountains, / but whose feet were wrapped in a green twilight. And beasts [*struck out*: and birds] came forth and dwelt in the grassy plains, or in the rivers and the lakes, or walked in the shadow of the woods. [And richest was the growth of plant and beast in the midmost >] As yet no flower had bloomed nor any bird had sung, for these things waited still their time in the bosom of Palúrien; but wealth there was of her imagining, and nowhere more rich than in the midmost / parts of the Earth, where the light of both the Lamps met and blended. And there upon the Isle of Almaren in the Great Lake was the first dwelling of the gods when all things were young, and new-made green was yet a marvel in the eyes of the [makers. >] makers; and they were long content.

§32But at length Melkor returned in secret, and far in the North, where the beams of [Forontë >] Illuin were cold and dim, he made a hidden dwelling. Thence he sent forth his power and turned again to evil much that had been well begun; so that green things fell sick and rotted, and rivers were choked with weeds and slime, and fens were made, rank and poisonous, and the breeding place of flies; and forests grew dark and perilous, the haunts of fear; and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory and dyed the earth with blood. And when he saw his time, Melkor revealed himself, and he made war again on the Valar his brethren; and he threw down the Lamps, and a new darkness fell, and all growth ceased. And in the fall of the Lamps, which were very great, the seas were lifted up in fury,

and many lands were drowned. Then the Valar were driven from their abode in Almaren, and they removed from the Middle-earth, and made their home in the uttermost West, [*added*:] in Aman the Blessed, / and they fortified it against the onslaught of Melkor. Many mansions they built in that land upon the borders of the world which is since called Valinor, whose western marges fall into the mists of the Outer Sea, and whose fences against the East are the [Pelóri >] Peláre Valion, the Mountains of Valinor, highest upon Earth.

Thence they came at last with a great host against Melkor, to wrest from him the rule of the Middle-earth; but he now had grown in malice and in strength and was master of many monsters and evil things, so that they could not at that time overcome him utterly, nor take him captive; and he escaped from their wrath, and lay hid until they had departed. Then he returned to his dwelling in the North, and there built for himself a mighty fortress, and delved great caverns underground secure from assault, and he gathered to him many lesser powers that seeing his greatness and growing strength were now willing to serve him; and the name of that evil fastness was Utumno.

§33Thus it was that the Earth lay darkling again, save only in Valinor, as the ages drew on to the hour appointed by Ilúvatar for the coming of the Firstborn. And in the darkness Melkor dwelt, and still often walked abroad, in many shapes of power and fear; and he wielded cold and fire, from the tops of the mountains to the deep furnaces that are beneath them; and whatsoever was cruel or violent or deadly in those days is laid to his charge.

§34But in Valinor the Valar dwelt with all their kin and folk, and because of the beauty and bliss of that realm they came seldom now to Middle-earth, but gave to the Land beyond the Mountains their chief care and love.

D omits the remainder of C §34 concerning the visits of Yavanna and Oromë to Middle-earth (see p. 35), and continues from the beginning of C §35: ‘And in the midst of the Blessed Realm were the mansions of Aulë, and there he laboured long.’ From this point D becomes again much closer to C, and the differences can be given in the form of notes.

§35‘Of him comes the love and knowledge of the Earth’; D ‘Of him comes the lore …’(both readings certain).

'the fabric of the Earth'; D 'the fabric of the world'

'the tiller and the husbandman, the weaver, the shaper of wood, or the forger of metals'; D 'the weaver, the shaper of wood, and the worker in metals; and the tiller and the husbandman also. Though these last and all that deal with things that grow and bear fruit must look also to the spouse of Aulë, Yavanna Palúrien.'

The passage concerning the Noldor, bracketed in C, was retained in D, with change of 'and they are the wisest and most skilled of the Elves' to 'and they are the most skilled of the Elves'

§36 'all that passed in Aman' retained in D (cf. note to §23 above).

'from the eyes of Manwë'; D 'from the eyes of Manwë and the servants of Manwë'

'she it was who wrought the Stars' altered (late) in D to 'she it was who wrought the Great Stars'

Immediately following this a passage in D is very heavily inked out, so that it is totally illegible; but it was obviously the passage that follows here in C: 'And the children of Manwë and Varda are Fionwë Úrion their son, and Ilmarë their daughter; and these were the eldest of the children of the Valar. They dwelt with Manwë'. A semi-colon was placed after 'Stars', and D as emended continues with 'and with them were a great host of fair spirits', &c.

The passage concerning the Lindar, bracketed in C, was retained in D, with a late change of 'Lindar' to 'Vanyar'.

'and the chief defence against Melkor'; D 'the vicegerent of Ilúvatar, and the chief defence against the evil of Melkor.'

From the beginning of §37 I give the text of D in full to the end of the work.

§37 But Ulmo was alone, and he abode not in Valinor, nor ever came thither unless there was need for a great council: he dwelt from the beginning of Arda in the Outer Ocean, and still he dwells there. Thence he governed the flowing of all waters, and the ebbing, the courses of all rivers and the replenishment of springs, the distilling of all dews and rain in every land beneath the sky. In the deep places he gives thought to musics great and terrible; and the echo thereof runs through all the veins of the world in sorrow

and in joy; for if joyful is the fountain that rises in the sun, its springs are in the wells of sorrow unfathomed at the foundations of the Earth. The Teleri learned much of Ulmo, and for this reason their music has both sadness and enchantment. Salmar came with him to Arda, he who made the conches of Ulmo that none may ever forget who once has heard them; and Ossë and Uinen also, to whom he gave the government of the waves and the movements of the Inner Seas, and many other spirits beside. And thus it was [*added:*] by the power of Ulmo / that even under the darkness of Melkor life coursed still through many secret lodes, and the Earth did not die; and to all who were lost in that darkness or wandered far from the light of the Valar the ear of Ulmo was ever open; nor has he ever forsaken Middle-earth, and whatso may since have befallen of ruin or of change he has not ceased to take thought for it, and will not until the end of days.

The following passage concerning Yavanna and Oromë derives from §34 in C; it was omitted at that point in D (p. 33).

[§34] And in that time of dark Yavanna also was unwilling utterly to forsake the outer lands; for all things that grow are dear to her, and she mourned for the works that she had begun in Middle-earth but Melkor had marred. Therefore leaving the house of Aulë and the flowering meads of Valinor she would come at times and heal the hurts of Melkor; and returning she would ever urge the Valar to that war with his evil dominion that they must surely wage ere the coming of the Firstborn. And Oromë tamer of beasts would ride too at whiles in the darkness of the unlit forests; as a mighty hunter he came with spear and bow [pursuing to the death the monsters and fell creatures of the kingdom of Melkor. Then borne upon his tireless steed with shining mane and golden hoof, he would sound the great horn Rombaras, whereat >] upon his tireless steed with shining mane and golden hoof, pursuing to the death the monsters and fell creatures of the kingdom of Melkor. Then in the twilight of the world he would sound his great horn, the Valaróma, upon the plains of Arda, whereat / the mountains echoed and the shadows of Utumno fled away, and even the heart of Melkor himself was shaken, foreboding the wrath to come.

The following paragraph, after Pengoloð's address to Ælfwine

(not in C), takes up a passage in *Ainulindalë* B, V. 160–1 (itself not greatly modified from the original *Music of the Ainur* in *The Book of Lost Tales*, 1.57), which was not used in C:

Now all is said to thee, Ælfwine, for this present, concerning the manner of the Earth and its rulers in the time before days and ere the world became such as the Children have known it. Of these thou hast not asked, but a little I will say and so make an end. For Elves and Men are the Children; and since they understood not fully that theme by which they entered into the Music, none of the Ainur dared to add anything to their fashion. For which reason the Valar are to these kindreds rather their elders and their chieftains than their masters; and if ever in their dealings with Elves and Men the Ainur have endeavoured to force them when they would not be guided, this has seldom turned to good, howsoever good the intent. The dealings of the Ainur have been mostly with the Elves, for Ilúvatar made the Eldar more like in nature to the Ainur, though less in might and stature, whereas to Men he gave strange gifts.

§38For it is said that after the departure of the Valar there was silence and for an age Ilúvatar sat alone in thought. Then he spoke, and he said: ‘Behold I love the Earth, which shall be a mansion for the Eldar and the Atani! But the Eldar shall be the fairest of all earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive and bring forth more beauty than all my children; and they shall have the greater bliss in this world. But to the Atani (which are Men) I will give a new gift.’

§39Therefore he willed that the hearts of Men should seek beyond the world and should find no rest therein; but they should have a virtue to shape their life, amid the powers and chances of the world, beyond the Music of the Ainur, which is as fate to all things else; and of their operation everything should be, in form and deed, completed, and the world fulfilled unto the last and smallest. [*The following passage struck out*: Lo! even we of the Eldalië have found to our sorrow that Men have a strange power for good or for ill, and for turning things aside from the purpose of Valar or of Elves; so that it is said among us that Fate is not the master of the children of Men; yet they are blind, and their joy is small, which should be great.]

§40But Ilúvatar knew that Men, being set amid the turmoils of the powers of the world, would stray often, and would not use their

gifts in harmony; and he said: 'These too in their time shall find that all that they do redounds at the end only to the glory of my work.' Yet we of the Eldar believe that Men are often a grief to Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For it seems to us that Men resemble Melkor most of all the Ainur, and yet he has ever feared and hated them, even those that served him.

It is one with this gift of freedom that the children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and are not bound to it, and depart soon whither we know not. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and their love of the Earth and all the world is more single and poignant, therefore, and as the years lengthen ever more sorrowful. Memory is our burden. For the Eldar die not till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief (and to both these seeming deaths they are subject); neither does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn among their children. But the sons of Men die indeed, and leave the World (it is said); wherefore they are called the Guests, or the Strangers. Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor has cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope. Yet of old the Valar said unto us that Men shall join in the Second Music of the Ainur, whereas Ilúvatar has not revealed what he purposes for the Elves after the World's end, and Melkor has not discovered it.

Commentary on the Ainulindalë text D

It will be seen that this text, which can only in part be called a new version, does not extend, contradict, or clarify the 'new cosmology' in any respect — that is to say, as D was originally written. The alteration in §24 of 'they went down into the Halls of Aman' to 'they came down into the fields of Arda' only makes this particular passage more coherent: for Arda had now been established, and it was to the conflict in Arda that those other spirits came. The change in §23 of 'in the midst of the vast halls of the World' to 'in the midst of the vast halls of Aman' is presumably not significant, since the one is clearly equivalent to the other (see p. 28).

With additions and corrections to the text, however, a new

element enters: *Ea*. This was the word that Ilúvatar spoke at the moment of the Creation of the World: '*Ea!* Let these things Be!'; and the Ainur knew that 'Ilúvatar had made a new thing, Ea, the World that Is' (§20). In §23, where the reading of C 'the vast halls of the World' had become in D 'the vast halls of Aman', 'Aman' was replaced by 'Ea'. The failure to change 'the Halls of Aman' to 'the Halls of Ea' in §15 was obviously an oversight. The later meaning of 'Aman', the Blessed Realm, appears in an addition to the text in §32.

There can be no doubt that *Ea,* the Word of Creation that is also the word for the World Created, functions here as did *Aman*; the 'Being' that the word contained and brought forth was the 'new World … globed amid the Void' that the Ainur had seen in vision (§11), and which now they saw as a light far off, 'as it were a cloud with a living heart of flame' (§20), and into which those of them who wished descended.

But it is perfectly explicit that the Ainur, created by Ilúvatar (§1), dwelt in 'fair regions' that Ilúvatar had made for them (§10); some of them remained 'beyond the confines of the World' (§21) — and Tulkas heard 'in the far heaven' of the War in Arda. How then can the word *Ea* be defined in the list of '1951 alterations' (p. 7) as 'Universe of that which Is'? This expression can surely not be made equivalent to 'the World that Is' (§20). Must not the '*Universe* of that which Is' contain '*Ea*, the World', and the Ainur who saw it created?

Other points arising from differences between C and D, and from emendations made to D, are referred to under the paragraphs in which they occur:

§31 The omission of the words 'of the Noldor' after 'loremasters' was probably made because Pengoloð is expressly a Noldo: cf. §36, where D has 'whom we Noldor name Elbereth'.

In the substantially revised latter part of this paragraph (p. 32; C text p. 17) the names of the Lamps are changed again, from *Foros* and *Hyaras* to *Forontë* and *Hyarantë*; and by early emendation they reach at last the final forms *Illuin* and *Ormal* (as given in the list of '1951 alterations', p. 7). Now it is specifically Yavanna who planted seeds in Middle-earth; and it is Aulë who made the Lamps — but this was told in both the earlier and later *Annals of Valinor* (IV.263, V.110), and indeed goes back to the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.69).

In the correction made to the passage about the first growth in Arda under the light of the Lamps the narrative is brought back to the older tradition concerning the first flowers (yet 'grasses' already appeared); see p. 22 note 17.

'Almaren in the Great Lake', as in the 1951 list (p. 7), now replaces 'Almar in a great lake'.

§32 *Aman*, in an addition to the manuscript, now acquires its later meaning. — The account of the assault on Melkor by the Valar coming forth from Valinor is slightly extended in D: they came 'with a great host', and Melkor 'lay hid until they had departed', then 'returned to his dwelling in the North', where he built Utumno.

§36 The late change of 'she it was who wrought the Stars' to 'she it was who wrought the Great Stars' is notable: the suggestion must be that Varda *only* made the Great Stars. See p. 376 and note 4.

§34 (p. 35; passage omitted at its place in C). The name *Rombaras* for the Horn of Oromë is found uniquely here; the name that replaces it in the revision of the passage, *Valaróma*, appears in the 1951 list (p. 7).

D was the last version of the *Ainulindalë*. A typescript was made of it, but this is an amanuensis text of no significance, save for a few notes that my father made on it. This text was taken from D when most, but not all, the corrections had been made to it. At the top of the first page he pencilled the following (unfortunately not entirely legible) note:

> The World should be equivalent to Arda (the realm) = our planet. Creation the Universe (..... universe) should be Ea, What Is.

This raises again, and again inconclusively, the question discussed on pp. 37–8. The note is at least clear to this extent, that 'the World' is no longer to be the 'new World … globed amid the Void' which the Ainur saw (§11), but is to be applied to Arda — and this is of course a reversion, so far as the word is concerned, to the stage of the *Ambarkanta*, where *Ilu* (Arda) is 'the World' (see p. 28). But the difficulty with the definition of *Ea* as the 'Universe of that which Is' in the 1951 list, or as 'Creation the Universe' in the present note, remains — remains, that is, if the conception of a 'World globed amid the Void' and separate from the Void remained. It looks,

indeed, rather as if my father were thinking in quite different terms: Arda, the World, is set within an indefinite vastness in which all 'Creation' is comprehended; but there is no way of knowing when this note was written. See further pp. 62–4.

Another pencilled note on the first page of the typescript reads: 'Ilúvatar All-father (*ilúve* "the whole")'; cf. the *Etymologies* (V.361): stem IL 'all', ILU 'universe', Quenya *ilu, ilúve; Ilúvatar*. For the original etymology of *Ilúvatar* ('Sky-father') see I.255.

On the title-page of the typescript my father wrote: '*Atani* (Second) Followers = Men'. *Atani* (which is listed among the 1951 alterations) is not found in *Ainulindalë* C, but appears in D (title-page and §38).

*Ainulindalë C**

I have already discussed the relationship of this very remarkable version to *Ainulindalë* C, and shown that it preceded C and was composed before *The Lord of the Rings* was finished (see pp. 3–6). I have noted also that when lending the typescript C* to Katherine Farrer in 1948 my father labelled it 'Round World Version', and that he gave her also the old B manuscript (in all probability before he covered it with new writing to form version C), which he labelled 'Flat World Version'.

There are only two details to be observed in the first part of this version. In §15 C* had, as did C, 'the Halls of Anar', and again as in C this was later emended to 'the Halls of Aman'. This emendation was made at the same time on both texts; but on C* my father added a footnote: *'Anar* = the Sun' (see p. 44). And in §19, whereas both C and D have 'for the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away', C* has 'the circles of time' (this reading was adopted in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 20).

But from part way through §23 to the end of §24 C* develops the B text quite differently from C:

§23So began their great labours [*rejected immediately*: in the beginning of Time and in the immeasurable ages forgotten] in wastes unmeasured and unexplored, and in ages uncounted and forgotten, until in the Deeps of Time and in the midst of the vast halls of the World there came to be that hour and that place where

was made the habitation of the Children of Ilúvatar. And many of the Valar repaired thither from the uttermost parts of heaven. But the first of these was Melkor. And Melkor took the Earth, while it was yet young and full of fire, to be his own kingdom.

§24But Manwë was the brother of Melkor, and he was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor. And he called unto himself others of his brethren and many spirits both greater and less, and he said to them: 'Let us go to the Halls of Anar [*not emended*], *where the Sun of the Little World is kindled*, and watch that Melkor bring it not all to ruin!'

And they went thither, Manwë and Ulmo and Aulë, and others of whom thou shalt yet hear, Ælfwine, and behold! Melkor was before them; but he had little company, save a few of those lesser spirits that had attuned their music to his; and he walked alone; and the Earth was in flames. The coming of the Valar was not indeed welcome to Melkor, for he desired not friends but servants, and he said: 'This is my kingdom, which I have named unto myself.' But the Valar answered that this he could not lawfully do, for in making and governance they had all their part. And there was strife between the Valar and Melkor; and for a time Melkor departed and *withdrew beyond the arrows of the Sun*, and brooded on his desire.

On the two sentences which I have italicised see pp. 43–4. The narrative in this version differs from that of C, since here Melkor preceded the other Ainur, and Manwë's summons was not made out of Arda to other spirits that had not yet come, but was an invitation to enter Arda with him.

From the beginning of §25 C* reverts to the common text (more accurately, from this point C follows C*); the expression 'Kingdom of Anar' in §25 was later emended to 'Kingdom of Arda' (in C this change was made in the act of writing, p. 22 note 13). But near the end of §27 C* diverges again:

… for as surely as the Valar began a labour so would Melkor undo it or corrupt it; so that forests became fierce and rank and poisonous, and beasts became monsters of horn and ivory, and they fought, and dyed the earth with blood.

In C this passage comes in later (§32), and the corruption

described is that worked by Melkor on the living things that came to being in the light of the Lamps; but in C*, as will be seen, the story of the Lamps had been abandoned (p. 43).

C* then jumps from the end of §27 to §31, which in C is a part of the words of Pengolod (Pengoloð) after the end of the *Ainulindalë* proper, and proceeds as follows:

§31And this tale also I have heard among the sages of the Noldor in ages past: that in the midst of the War, and before yet there was any thing that grew or walked on Earth, there was a time when the Valar came near to the mastery; for a spirit of great strength and hardihood came to their aid, hearing in the far heaven that there was battle in the Little World. And he came like a storm of laughter and loud song, and the Earth shook under his great golden feet. So came Tulkas, the Strong and the Merry, whose anger passeth like a mighty wind, scattering cloud and darkness before it. And Melkor was shaken by the laughter of Tulkas and fled from the Earth. Then he gathered himself together and summoned all his might and his hatred, and he said: 'I will rend the Earth asunder, and break it, and none shall possess it.'

But this Melkor could not do, for the Earth may not be wholly destroyed against its fate; nevertheless Melkor took a portion of it, and seized it for his own, and reft it away; and he made it a little earth of his own, and it wheeled round about in the sky, following the greater earth wheresoever it went, so that Melkor could observe thence all that happened below, and could send forth his malice and trouble the seas and shake the lands. And still there is rumour among the Eldar of the war in which the Valar assaulted the stronghold of Melkor, and cast him out, and removed it further from the Earth, and it remains in the sky, Ithil whom Men call the Moon. There is both blinding heat and cold intolerable, as might be looked for in any work of Melkor, but now at least it is clean, yet utterly barren; and nought liveth there, nor ever hath, nor shall. And herein is revealed again the words of Ilúvatar; for Ithil has become a mirror to the greater Earth, catching the light of the Sun, when she is invisible; and because of malice silver has been made of gold, and moonlight of sunlight, and Earth in its anguish and loss has been greatly enriched.

But of all such matters, Ælfwine, others shall tell thee …

These last words are the beginning of §28 in C, the end of the *Ainulindalë* proper, and the paragraph appears in C* in almost exactly the same form. After this C* ends abruptly with the concluding passage, C §§38–40, in which however there are some notable differences. §38 reads thus in C*:

But out beyond the World in the Timeless Halls after the departure of the Valar there was silence, and Ilúvatar sat in thought, and the Holy Ones that stood nigh moved not. Then Ilúvatar spoke and he said: 'Verily I love the World and am glad that it Is. And my thought is bent to that place where are the mansions of the Elves and of Men. Behold! the Eldar shall be the fairest of Earthly creatures, and they shall have and shall conceive more beauty than all other offspring of my thought; and they shall have the greater bliss in the World. But to Men I will give a new gift.'

It is to be noted that the scrap of manuscript found with the Adûnaic papers, discussed on p. 4, has precisely the structure of C*: it begins with 'But of all such matters, Ælfwine …' and continues to the end of the paragraph '… and thus thy feet are on the beginning of the road', following this with 'But out beyond the World in the Timeless Halls …'

§39 is virtually the same in both texts; but §40, after the opening sentence (Ilúvatar's words concerning Men), continues thus to the end:

Yet the Eldar know that Men have often been a grief to the Valar that love them, not least to Manwë, who knows most of the mind of Ilúvatar. For Men resemble Melkor most of all the Ainur; and yet he hath ever feared and hated them, even those that serve him.

It is one with this gift of freedom that the Children of Men dwell only a short space in the world alive, and yet are not bound to it, nor shall perish utterly for ever. Whereas the Eldar remain until the end of days, and therefore their love of the world is deeper and more joyous, save that when evil is done to it, or its beauty is despoiled, then they are grieved bitterly, and the sorrow of the Elves for that which might have been fills now all the Earth with tears that Men hear not. But the sons of Men die indeed and leave what they have made or marred. Yet the Valar say that Men shall

join in the Second Music of the Ainur, but Manwë alone knoweth what Ilúvatar hath purposed for the Elves after the World's end: the Elves know not, and Melkor hath not discovered it.

The concluding section §§38–40 was struck through, and against it my father wrote a question, whether to place it 'in The Silmarillion' or to insert it 'in modified form' earlier in the present text.

The fundamental difference between C* and C lies in this, that in C* the Sun is already present from the beginning of Arda (see the italicised passages in §24 on p. 40), and the origin of the Moon, similarly 'de-mythologised' by removal from all association with the Two Trees, is placed in the context of the tumults of Arda's making. It seems strange indeed that my father was prepared to conceive of the Moon — the Moon, that cherishes the memory of the Elves (V.118, 240) — as a dead and blasted survival of the hatred of Melkor, however beautiful its light. In consequence, the old legend of the Lamps was also abandoned: whence the different placing of the passage about Melkor's perversion of living things, p. 41.

There is no indication whatsoever of how the myth of the Two Trees was to be accommodated to these new ideas. But for that time the 'de-mythologising' version C* was set aside; and the D text followed from C without a trace of them. The *Annals of Aman*, certainly later than the end of the *Ainulindalë* series, contains a full account of the Making of the Sun and Moon; and in my father's long letter to Milton Waldman, written almost certainly in 1951, the old myth is fully present and its significance defined (*Letters* no. 131):

> There was the Light of Valinor made visible in the Two Trees of Silver and Gold. These were slain by the Enemy out of malice, and Valinor was darkened, though from them, ere they died utterly, were derived the lights of Sun and Moon. (A marked difference here between these legends and most others is that the Sun is not a divine symbol, but a second-best thing, and the 'light of the Sun' (the world under the sun) become terms for a fallen world, and a dislocated imperfect vision).

In conclusion, there remains the perplexing question of the name *Anar* in C* and C, to which I can find no satisfactory solution. *Anar* occurred first in §15, where the reference is to the 'habitation in *the Halls of Anar* which the Elves call Arda, the Earth'; and here

in both texts my father later emended ‘Anar’ to ‘Aman’, while in C* he added a footnote: ‘*Anar* = the Sun’. In §24 the spirits whom Manwë summoned to his aid ‘went down into the Halls of Anar’, and here again ‘Anar’ was later changed to ‘Aman’ in C; in C* the reading is somewhat different, and in this text ‘Anar’ was left to stand: Manwë said to the other spirits ‘Let us go to the Halls of Anar where the Sun of the Little World is kindled’. The retention of ‘Anar’ in C* seems however to be no more than an oversight. Finally, in §25 are named ‘the Seven Great Ones of the Kingdom of Anar’, changed subsequently in C* but in the act of writing in C to ‘the Kingdom of Arda’.

The name *Anar* (*Anor*) = ‘the Sun’ goes back a long way — to *The Lost Road*, the *Quenta Silmarillion*, and the *Etymologies* (see the Index to Vol.V), and had been repeated in *The Notion Club Papers* (IX.302–3, 306), beside *Minas Anor*, *Anárion*, *Anórien* in *The Lord of the Rings*. It seems therefore at first sight very probable that *Anar* means ‘the Sun’ in these texts of the *Ainulindalë*. On this assumption the footnote to §15 in C* was no more than an explanatory gloss; while ‘the Kingdom of Anar’ in §25 = ‘the Kingdom of the Sun’ (‘the Sun of the Little World’): cf. the change in D §14 (p. 30) of ‘the whole field of the Sun’ to ‘the whole field of Arda’. The fact that in C, in which the myth of the Making of the Sun and Moon is implicitly present, my father wrote ‘the Kingdom of Anar’ would be explicable on the basis that he had C* before him, and wrote ‘Anar’ inadvertently before immediately changing it to ‘Arda’.

There is however a radical objection to this explanation. In §§15, 24 ‘the Halls of Anar’ is the name given to ‘the vast halls of the World’ with their ‘wheeling fires’, in which Ilúvatar chose a place for the habitation of Elves and Men; and subsequently *Anar* > *Aman* > *Ea* (p. 31, §23). Here the interpretation of *Anar* as ‘the Sun’ seems impossible. It may be therefore that my father’s note to C* §15 ‘*Anar* = the Sun’ (made at the same time as he changed ‘Anar’ to ‘Aman’ in the body of the text) implies that he had been using the name in another sense, but was now asserting that this and no other was the meaning of *Anar*.

PART TWO

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

The second version (pr*e-Lord of the Rings*) of the *Annals of Valinor* (AV 2) has been given in V.109 ff. I mentioned there that the first part of AV 2 was — years later — covered with emendation and new writing, and that this new work was the initial drafting of the *Annals of Aman*. In this case I shall spend no time on the original draft, apart from some points arising in it which are mentioned in the notes. It does not extend very far — not even so far as the bringing forth of the Two Trees, and so far as it goes it is extremely close to the *Annals of Aman;* but my father evidently very soon decided to embark on a wholly new text.

Of the *Annals of Aman*, which I shall refer to throughout by the abbreviation '**AAm**', there is a good clear manuscript, with a fair amount of correction in different 'layers'. Emendations belonging to the time of composition, or soon after, were carefully made; and the manuscript gives the impression of being a 'fair copy', a second text. But while passages of drafting may have been lost, I very much doubt that a complete 'first text' of the *Annals* existed (see further p. 121 note 17). The work undoubtedly belongs with the large development and recasting of the Matter of the Elder Days that my father undertook when *The Lord of the Rings* was finished (see p. 3), and it stands in close relationship to the revision at that time of the corresponding parts of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (V.204–43, referred to throughout as **QS**), the text that had been abandoned at the end of 1937. Equally clearly it followed the last text of the *Ainulindalë* (D).

There is an amanuensis typescript of AAm bearing some late emendations and notes, together with its carbon copy bearing a very few, but different, emendations; I am inclined to date this text to 1958, although the evidence for this is a matter of inference and suggestion (see pp. 141–2, 300). There is also an interesting, divergent typescript of the early part of the work, made by my father (pp. 64–8, 79–80).

I give the whole text of the *Annals* narrative, incorporating the

emendations made to it; where earlier readings are of interest they are recorded in the notes. I number the paragraphs for subsequent reference, and since the text is long I have divided it for convenience into six sections. The sections are followed by numbered textual notes (not in the case of section 2), and then by a commentary referenced to the paragraph-numbers.

The dates of the annals of the Years of the Trees were changed very frequently — in some cases there are as many as six substitutions — and I give only the final form. Since the continual changing of the dates seems in no case to be associated with changes in the actual narrative, and since the final articulation of the dates seems to have been achieved before the completion of the manuscript, I think it is sufficient to notice that my father at first allowed a longer span of years from the arising of the Trees to their destruction. Thus at first the Silmarils were achieved by Fëanor in the Year of the Trees 1600 (later 1450), and Tulkas was sent to lay hands on Melkor in 1700 (later 1490) — though other dates were proposed and rejected as well as these. From this point the revised dating (1490–1500) is the only one, but here too the dates were much altered in detail, and the final result is not at all points perfectly clear.

First section of the Annals of Aman

The first page of AAm is extant in two forms, both fine manuscripts, all but identical in text but differing in title and in the brief preamble. The first has the title *The Annals of Valinor*, and opens thus: 'Here begin the Annals of Valinor, and speak of the coming of the Valar to Arda'; beside the title was added: 'These were written by Quennar i Onótimo who learned much, and borrowed much also, from Rúmil; but they were enlarged by Pengoloð.' This last was struck out, and the title and preamble emended to the form they have on the second copy, as given below, with *Valinor* > *Aman* and the addition of the words 'which Rúmil wrote (made)'. I imagine that my father recopied the page because he wished it to look well, and had spoiled it by these changes. The title *Annals of Aman* came in at this point, therefore, and very possibly the final meaning of the name *Aman* also: it occurs once in *Ainulindalë* D, but as an addition to the text (p. 33, §32).

THE ANNALS OF AMAN

Here begin the Annals of Aman, which Rúmil made, and speak of the coming of the Valar to Arda:

§1At the Beginning Eru Ilúvatar made Ëa, the World that is,1 and the Valar entered into it, and they are the Powers of Ëa. These are the nine chieftains of the Valar that dwelt in Arda: Manwë, Ulmo, Aulë, Oromë, Tulkas, Ossë, Mandos, Lorien,2 and Melkor.

§2Of these Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren. Manwë is lord of the Valar, and holy; but Melkor turned to lust of power and pride, and became evil and violent, and his name is accursed, and is not spoken; he is named Morgoth. Oromë and Tulkas were younger in the thought of Eru ere the devising of the World, and Tulkas came last to the kingdom of Arda. The queens of the Valar are seven: Varda, Yavanna, Niënna, Vairë, Vana, Nessa, and Uinen. No less in might and majesty are they than the chieftains, and they sit ever in the councils of the Valar.

§3Varda was Manwë's spouse from the beginning, but Aulë espoused Yavanna, >her sister, in Ëa.3 Vana the fair, her younger sister, is the wife of Oromë; and Nessa, the sister of Oromë, is Tulkas' wife; and Uinen, lady of the seas, is the spouse of Ossë. Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos. No spouse hath Ulmo, nor Melkor. No lord hath Niënna the sorrowful, queen of shadow, Manwë's sister and Melkor's. The wife of Lorien is Estë the pale, but she goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda, but is the chief of the Maiar.

§4With these great powers came many other spirits of like kind but less might and authority; these are the Maiar, the Beautiful,4 the folk of the Valar. And with them are numbered also the Valarindi, the offspring of the Valar, their children begotten in Arda, yet of the race of the Ainur who were before the World; they are many and fair.

At this point my father wrote in: *This is drawn from the work of Quennar Onótimo*. These words refer not to what precedes but to the following passage, headed *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (although in the preamble — struck through — of the rejected first page of AAm Quennar i Onótimo is said to have been the author of the *Annals* as a whole, p. 48).

The entire section on the subject of the Reckoning of Time was later marked in pencil: 'Transfer to the Tale of Years'. *The Tale of*

Years, a chronological list of the same sort as that in Appendix B to *The Lord of the Rings*, exists in different forms, associated with the earlier and later *Annals*; the later form, closely associated with AAm and its companion the *Grey Annals (Annals of Beleriand),* is perhaps the most complex and difficult text of all that my father left behind him. This need not concern us here; but associated with it are two very fine manuscripts (one of them, the later of the two, among the most beautiful that he made: see the frontispiece) giving in almost identical form the same text *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* as is found here in AAm, but placing it as the opening of *The Tale of Years* and the prelude to the chronological list of events. These two manuscripts are of course later than the text in AAm, and some readings in which they differ from it are given in the notes. AAm continues:

This is drawn from the work of Quennar Onótimo.[5]

Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning

§5Time indeed began with the beginning of Ëa, and in that beginning the Valar came into the World. But the measurement which the Valar made of the ages of their labours is not known to any of the Children of Ilúvatar, until the first flowering of Telperion in Valinor. Thereafter the Valar counted time by the ages of Valinor, whereof each age contained *one hundred* of the Years of the Valar; but each such year was longer than are *nine* years under the Sun.[6]

§6Now measured by the flowering of the Trees there were *twelve* hours in each Day of the Valar, and *one thousand* of such days the Valar took to be a year in their realm. It is supposed indeed by the Lore-masters that the Valar so devised the hours of the Trees that *one hundred* of such years so measured should be in duration as one age of the Valar[7] (as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor).[8] Nonetheless this is not certainly known.

§7But as for the Years of the Trees and those that came after,[9] one such Year was longer than nine such years as now are. For there were in each such Year *twelve thousand* hours. Yet the hours of the Trees were each *seven* times as long as is *one* hour of a full-day upon Middle-earth from sun-rise to sun-rise, when light and dark

are equally divided.[10] Therefore each Day of the Valar endured for *four and eighty* of our hours, and each Year for *four and eighty thousand:* which is as much as *three thousand and five hundred* of our days, and is somewhat more than are *nine and one half* of our years (nine and one half and eight hundredths and yet a little).[11]

§8It is recorded by the Lore-masters that this is not rightly as the Valar designed at the making and ordering[12] of the Moon and Sun. For it was their intention that *ten* years of the Sun, no more and no less, should be in length as one Year of the Trees had been; and it was their first device that each year of the Sun should contain *seven hundred* times of sunlight and moonlight, and each of these times should contain *twelve* hours, each in duration one *seventh* of an hour of the Trees. By that reckoning each Sun-year would contain *three hundred and fifty* full days of divided moonlight and sunlight, that is *eight thousand and four hundred* hours, equalling *twelve hundred* hours of the Trees, or *one tenth* of a Valian Year. But the Moon and Sun proved more wayward and slower in their passage than the Valar had intended, as is hereafter told,[13] and a year of the Sun is somewhat longer than was one tenth of a Year in the Days of the Trees.

§9The shorter year of the Sun was so made[14] because of the greater speed of all growth, and likewise of all change and withering, that the Valar knew should come to pass after the death of the Trees. And after that evil had befallen the Valar reckoned time in Arda by the years of the Sun, and do so still, even after the Change of the World and the hiding of Aman; but ten years of the Sun they account now as but one year,[15] and one thousand but as a century. This is drawn from the Yénonótië of Quennar: quoth Pengoloð.[16]

§10It is computed by the lore-masters that the Valar came to the realm of Arda, which is the Earth, five thousand Valian Years ere the first rising of the Moon, which is as much as to say forty-seven thousands and nine hundred and one of our years. Of these, three thousand and five hundred (or thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty of our reckoning) passed ere the measurement of time first known to the Eldar began with the flowering of the Trees. Those were the Days before days. Thereafter one thousand and four hundred and five and ninety Valian Years (or fourteen thousand of our years and three hundred and twenty-two) followed during which the Light of the Trees shone in Valinor. Those were the Days

of Bliss. In those days, in the Year one thousand and fifty of the Valar, the Elves awoke in Kuiviénen and the First Age of the Children of Ilúvatar began.17

1 The First Year of the Valar in Arda

§11After ages of labour beyond knowledge or reckoning in the great halls of Ëa the Valar descended into Arda in the beginning of its being, and they began there their labour fore-ordained for the shaping of its lands and its waters, even from the foundations to the highest towers of the Air.

§12But their labours were frustrated and turned aside from their design, for Melkor coveted the dominion of Arda, and he claimed the kingship and was at strife with Manwë. And Melkor wrought great ruin with fire and deadly cold and marred all that the other Valar made.

1500

§13It came to pass that hearing afar of the war in Arda Tulkas the Strong came thither out of distant regions of Ëa to the aid of Manwë. Then Arda was filled with the sound of his laughter, but he turned a face of anger towards Melkor; and Melkor fled before his wrath and his mirth, and forsook Arda, and there was a long peace.

§14Now the Valar began their labours anew; and when the lands and the waters were ordered the Valar had need of light, that the seeds of Yavanna's devising might grow and have life. Aulë therefore wrought two great lamps, as it were of silver and of gold and yet translucent, and Varda filled them with hallowed fire, to give light to the Earth. Illuin and Ormal they were named. **1900** And they were set upon mighty pillars as mountains in the midst of Arda, to the northward and the southward.

§15Then the Valar continued their labours until all the kingdom of Arda was ordered and made ready, and there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth and dwelt in the plains and in the waters, and the mountains were green and fair to look upon. And the Valar made their dwelling upon a green isle in the midst of a lake; and that lake was between Illuin and Ormal in the midmost of Arda; and there in the Isle of Almaren, because of the blending of the lights, all things were richest in growth and fairest of hue. But the Valar were seldom there gathered in

company, for ever they would fare abroad in Arda, each in his own business.

§16And it came to pass that at last the Valar were content, and they were minded to rest a while from labour and watch the growth and unfolding of the things that they had devised and begun. Therefore Manwë ordained a great feast, and summoned all the Valar and the queens of the Valar unto Almaren, together with all their folk. And they came at his bidding; but Aulë, it is said, and Tulkas were weary; for the craft of Aulë and the strength of Tulkas had been at the service of all without ceasing in the days of their labour.

§17 Now Melkor knew of all that was done; for even then he had secret friends and spies among the Maiar whom he had converted to his cause, and of these the chief, as after became known, was Sauron, a great craftsman of the household of Aulë. And afar off in the dark places Melkor was filled with hatred, being jealous of the work of his peers, whom he desired to make subject to himself. Therefore he gathered to himself spirits out of the voids of Ëa that he had perverted to his service, and he deemed himself strong. And seeing now his time he drew near again unto Arda, and looked down upon it, and the beauty of the Earth in its Spring filled him the more with hate.

3400

§18Now therefore the Valar were gathered upon Almaren and feasted and made merry, fearing no evil, and because of the light of Illuin they did not perceive the shadow in the North that was cast from afar by Melkor; for he was grown dark as the Night of the Void.[18] And it is sung that in that feast of the Spring of Arda Tulkas espoused Nessa the sister of Oromë, and Vana robed [her] in her flowers, and she danced before the Valar upon the green grass of Almaren.

§19Then Tulkas slept, being weary and content, and Melkor deemed that his hour had come. And he passed, therefore, over the Walls of the Night[19] with his host, and he came to Middle-earth in the North; and the Valar were not aware of him.

§20Now Melkor began the delving and building of a vast fortress deep under Earth, beneath dark mountains where the light of Illuin was dim.[20] That stronghold was named Utumno. And though the

Valar knew nought of it as yet, nonetheless the evil of Melkor and the blight of his hatred flowed out thence, and the Spring of Arda was marred, and living things became sick and rotted, or were corrupted to monstrous forms.

3450

§21Then the Valar knew indeed that Melkor was at work again, and they sought for his hiding-place. But Melkor, trusting in the strength of Utumno and the might of his servants, came forth suddenly to war, and struck the first blow, ere the Valar were prepared. And he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal, and he cast down their pillars, and broke their lamps. Then in the overthrow of the mighty pillars lands were broken and seas arose in tumult; and when the lamps were spilled destroying flame was poured out over the Earth. And the shape of Arda and the symmetry of its waters and its lands was marred in that time, so that the first designs of the Valar were never after restored.

§22In the confusion and the darkness Melkor escaped, though fear fell upon him; for above the roaring of the seas he heard the voice of Manwë as a mighty wind, and the earth trembled beneath the feet of Tulkas. But he came to Utumno ere Tulkas could overtake him; and there he lay hid. And the Valar could not at that time overcome him, for the greater part of their strength was needed to restrain the tumults of the Earth, and to save from ruin all that could be saved of their labour; and afterward they feared to rend the Earth again, until they knew where the Children of Ilúvatar were dwelling, who were yet to come in a time that was hidden from the Valar.

§23Thus ended the Spring of Arda. And the dwelling of the Valar upon Almaren was utterly destroyed, and the gods had no abiding place upon the face of the earth. Therefore they removed from Middle-earth and went to the Land of Aman, which was westernmost of all lands upon the borders of the world; for its west shores looked upon the Outer Sea that encircled the kingdom of Arda, and beyond were the Walls of the Night.[21] But the east-shores of Aman are the uttermost end of the Great Sea of the West; and since Melkor had returned to Middle-earth, and they could not yet overcome him, the Valar fortified their dwelling, and upon the shores of the Sea they raised the Pelóri, the Mountains of Aman,

highest upon earth. And above all the mountains of the Pelóri was that height which was called Taniquetil, upon whose summit Manwë set his throne. But behind the walls of the Pelóri the Valar established their mansions and their domain in that region which is called Valinor. There in the Guarded Realm they gathered great store of light and all the fairest things that were saved from the ruin; and many others yet fairer they made anew, and Valinor became more beautiful even than Middle-earth in the Spring of Arda; and it was blessed and holy, for the gods dwelt there, and there nought faded nor withered, neither was there any stain upon flower or leaf in that land, nor any corruption or sickness in anything that lived; for the very stones and waters were hallowed.

§24Therefore the Valar and all their folk were joyful again, and for long they were well content, and they came seldom over the mountains to the Outer Lands; and Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa.

3500

§25And it came to pass that, after Valinor was full-wrought and the mansions of the Valar were established and their gardens and woodlands were arrayed, the Valar built their city in the midst of the plain beyond the Pelóri. That city they named Valmar the Blessed. And before its western gate there was a green mound, and it was bare save for a sward of unfading grass.

§26Then Yavanna and Niënna came to that Green Mound; and Yavanna hallowed it, and sat there long upon the green grass and sang a song of great power, in which was set all her thought of things that grow in the earth. But Niënna thought in silence, and watered the mould with tears. Then all the Valar were gathered together to hearken to the song of Yavanna; and the mound was in the midst of the Ring of Doom before the gates of Valmar, and the Valar sat round about in silence upon their thrones of council, and their folk were set before their feet. And as the gods watched, behold! upon the mound there sprang two green saplings, and they grew and became fair and tall, and they came to blossom.

§27Thus there awoke in the world the Two Trees of Valinor, of all growing things the fairest and most renowned, whose fate is woven with the fate of Arda. The elder of the Trees was named

Telperion, and its blossoms were of shining white, and a dew of silver light was spilled from them. Laurelin the younger Tree was called; its green leaves were edged with gold, and its flowers were like to clusters of yellow flame, and a rain of gold dripped from them to the ground. From those Trees there came forth a great light, and all Valinor was filled with it. Then the bliss of the Valar was increased; for the light of the Trees was holy and of great power, so that, if aught was good or lovely or of worth, in that light its loveliness and its worth were fully revealed; and all that walked in that light were glad at heart.

§28But the light that was spilled from the Trees endured long, ere it was taken up into the airs or sank into the earth for their enrichment. Therefore of its abundance Varda was wont to gather great store, and it was hoarded in mighty vats nigh to the Green Mound. Thence the Maiar would draw it and bring it to frith and field, even those far removed from Valmar, so that all regions of Valinor were nourished and waxed ever fairer.

§29Thus began the Days of the Bliss of Valinor, and thus began also the count of Time. For the Trees waxed to full bloom and light, and waned again, unceasingly, without change of speed or fullness. Telperion came first to flower, and a little ere he ceased to shine Laurelin began to bud; and again ere Laurelin had grown dim Telperion awoke once more. Therefore the Valar took the time of the flowering, first of Telperion and then of Laurelin, to be for them a Day in Valinor; and the time when each Tree was flowering alone they divided into five hours, each equal to the time of the mingling of their lights, twice in each Day. There were thus twelve such hours in every Day of the Valar; and one thousand of those Days was held to be a Year, for then the Trees would put forth a new branch and their stature would increase.

The opening section of the *Annals of Aman* ends here; it is followed by a heading *Here begins a new Reckoning in the Light of the Trees*, with dates beginning at Y.T.1, the First Year of the Trees.

NOTES

1The definition of *Ëa* as ‘the World that Is’ is found also at the appearance of the name in an addition to the text of *Ainulindalë* D, p. 31, §20. I give it throughout in the form that it has in the

texts, *Ea, Ëa, Eä.*

2The original form of the name was *Lórien*, but this was changed to *Lŏrien* on the QS manuscript.

3AV 2 had here (V.110) 'Yavanna, whom Aulë espoused after in the world, in Valinor'; in the later rewriting of the AV 2 manuscript that led directly to AAm (p. 47) this became 'Yavanna, whom Aulë espoused in Arda', where AAm has 'in Ëa'.

4AV 2 had here (V.110) 'these are the Vanimor, the Beautiful', changed in the later rewriting (see note 3) to 'these are the Mairi …', and then to 'these are the Maiar …' This was probably where the word *Maiar* first arose.

5In the earlier (only) of the two manuscripts of the opening of *The Tale of Years* the heading *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* was subsequently extended by the addition of *From the work of Quennar Onótimo*; see note 6.

6As this sentence was first written in the draft text for the beginning of AAm (the rewriting of AV 2) it read: 'each such year is in length even as are ten years of the Sun that is now'; i.e., my father still retained the old much simpler computation going back through AV 2 (V. 110) to AV 1 (IV.263). This was changed on the draft text to 'each such year is longer than are nine years of the Sun that is now'. In the earlier of the *Tale of Years* versions the words 'as it now is' were pencilled in after 'nine years under the Sun', while the second reads 'than are now nine years under the Sun'.

The second *Tale of Years* version, which does not refer to Quennar Onótimo in the heading *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (note 5), has here: 'Thus spake Quennar Onótimo concerning this matter'. What follows from this point is in all three texts in markedly smaller script, so that the reference to Quennar seems most appropriate here.

7The later (only) of the *Tale of Years* versions has 'one fifth of an age of the Valar' for 'one age of the Valar'.

8The earlier of the *Tale of Years* versions adds here: 'whereas each age of the Valar is one exact part (how great or small they alone know) of the whole history of Ëa. But these things are not certainly known even to the Eldar'; the later begins the additional passage in the same way, but ends: '… of the whole history of Ëa from its beginning to the End that shall be. But

these things are not certainly known even to [the] Vanyar.'

9 The *Tale of Years* versions have here: 'As for the Years of the Trees in comparison with those that came after', which makes the meaning clear.

10 In the earlier *Tale of Years* version 'from sun-rise to sun-rise' was changed in pencil to 'from sunset to sunset', and the following sentence 'at such times as light and dark are equally divided' was bracketed. The second version has a different reading: 'from sunset unto sunset beside the Shores of the Great Sea'.

11 In the *Tale of Years* versions the words '(nine and one half and eight hundredths and yet a little)' are omitted.

12 In the *Tale of Years* versions the words 'and ordering' are omitted.

13 For 'as is hereafter told' (which refers to the account of the Sun and Moon later in AAm) the *Tale of Years* versions have 'as is elsewhere told'.

14 For 'was so made' the *Tale of Years* versions have 'was appointed by the Valar'.

15 'but one year' becomes in the *Tale of Years* versions 'but one year unto themselves'.

16 The *Tale of Years* versions have here 'Thus speaketh the *Yénonótië* of Quennar'. With *Yénonótië* cf. *Yénië Valinóren* 'Annals of Valinor' in the title-pages of QS (V.202), and the name *Onótimo* itself; see the *Etymologies*, stems NOT 'count', YEN 'year' (V.378, 400).

17 Paragraph §10 had this form in the draft text for the beginning of AAm:

> It hath been computed by the Masters of Lore that the Valar came to the Kingdom of Arda, which is this Earth, five and forty thousand years of our time ere the first rising of the Moon. And of these thirty thousand passed ere the measurement of Time began with the flowering of the Trees. These were the Days before Days. And fifteen thousand years followed after during which the Light of the Trees yet lived, and nigh on six hundred more of the New Sun and Moon after the slaying of the Trees. And these are called the Elder Days, and with their ending ended the First Age of Time, and Melkor was thrust from the world.
>
> Thus whereas in AV 1 and AV 2 the reckoning was thus (V.Y. = Valian Year(s), S.Y. = Sun Year(s)):
>
> V.Y. 1000 = S.Y. 10000 First flowering of the Trees

V.Y. 3000 = S.Y. 30000 Rising of the Moon

this first revision gives:

S.Y. 30000 First flowering of the Trees
S.Y. 45000 Rising of the Moon

This reckoning was then replaced again:

V.Y. 3500 = S.Y. 33530 First flowering of the Trees
V.Y. 5300 = S.Y. 50775 Rising of the Moon

These figures show a ratio of 1 V.Y. = 9.58 S.Y. (see the commentary on §§5–10, pp. 59–60). This last reckoning was the form in AAm as first written, which was then changed many times to give the text printed.

18 The text as written had 'dark as the night that was before Ea', changed later to 'dark as the Night of the Void'.

19 The text as first written had 'over the borders of Ëa'; this was changed later to 'over the Walls of the Night upon the borders of Arda', and then 'upon the borders of Arda' was struck out.

20 The text was first written 'far from the light of Illuin'.

21 The text as written had 'which is westernmost of all lands' and 'look upon the Outer Sea that encircles the kingdom of Arda'; the changes to the past tense were perhaps made at the time of writing, since the next phrase, 'and beyond were the Walls of the Night', had the past tense as written. On the other hand, the following sentence has the present tense ('But the east shores of Aman are the uttermost end of the Great Sea of the West'), where *are* was allowed to stand.

Commentary on the first section of the Annals of Aman

§§1–3 On the occurrence of the name *Eru* see p. 7. The account of the interrelations of the Valar and the queens of the Valar remains closely based on that in AV 2 (V.110), and retains old phrases (as 'Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren') going back to the original *Annals* (IV.263). There are however some developments in this opening section. On the phrase in §2, 'Oromë and Tulkas were younger in the thought of Eru ere the devising of the World', see V.120. That Tulkas came last to Arda derives from the rewritten *Ainulindalë* (§31).

It is not said now, as it was in AV 2, that Oromë was the son of Yavanna. On the other hand, it is now said, as in the *Quenta* (Q) and QS, that Vana was the sister of Yavanna (and

Varda), whereas this was not said in AV 2. These differences are perhaps connected; for if both accounts are combined Oromë's wife is the sister of his mother. But this may be to take too conventional a view of the divine relations.

The statements that Estë 'goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda', and that she is the chief of the Maiar (see note 4 above), are entirely new.

§4 The passage concerning the 'lesser spirits' shows no significant development from that in AV 2 (V.110) except for the replacement of *Vanimor* by *Maiar* (translated 'the Beautiful' as *Vanimor* had been); the *Valarindi*, Children of the Valar, 'begotten in Arda' and numbered among the Maiar, remain. On the earlier history of these conceptions see V.120–1; and see further p. 69.

§5 *Telperion* first appeared in QS §16 (V.209), but not as the primary name of the Elder Tree, which remained *Silpion*. *Telperion*, used in *The Lord of the Rings*, now became the primary name.

§§5–10 The account of the Reckoning of Time is at first sight somewhat baffling, but it can be clarified.

(i) According to the reckoning by the Trees

12 hours (a full flowering of both Trees) = 1 day
1000 days (12000 hours) = 1 year
100 years = 1 age of the Valar (as the Valar reckoned the ages before the Trees, according to a supposition of the Loremasters of the Elves; see notes 7 and 8 to the text)

(ii) Relation of the reckoning by the Trees to the reckoning by the Sun

1 hour of the Trees = 7 hours of our time
1 day of the Trees = (7 × 12) 84 hours of our time
1 year of the Trees = (7 × 12000) 84000 hours of our time

There are (365·25 × 24) 8766 hours in a Sun Year, and thus:
1 year of the Trees = (84000 ÷ 8766) 9·582 Sun Years*

(iii) Original intention of the Valar for the new reckoning by the Sun and Moon

12 hours of moonlight and 12 hours of sunlight = 24 hours = 1 full day

700 times of sunlight and moonlight = 350 full days = 1 Sun Year

1 hour = $^1/_7$ of 1 hour of the Trees

Therefore:

1 Sun Year would have (24 × 350) 8400 hours = (8400 ÷ 7)

1200 hours of the Trees = 1/10 of a Valian Year (see (i) above);

thus 1 Valian Year would = 10 Sun Years

The matter can be expressed more concisely thus:

1 year of the Trees = (7 × 12000) 84000 hours of our time

84000 ÷ (350 × 24) 8400 = 10

but

84000 ÷ (365·25 × 24) 8766 = 9·582

(iv) The dates of the first flowering of the Trees and the first rising of the Moon (§10)

The Trees first flowered after 3500 Valian Years had passed, which is said to be equal to 33530 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of 9·58; 9·582 gives 33537).

The Moon first rose after 5000 Valian Years had passed, which is said to be equal to 47901 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of 9·5802; if the equivalence is 9·582 the number of Sun Years would be 47910, if 9·58 the number would be 47900).

The Trees shone for 1495 Valian Years, which is said to be equal to 14322 Sun Years (this presupposes an equivalence of almost exactly 9·58).

§§11–29The great expansion of the pre-*Lord of the Rings* narrative (QS, AV 2) is in part derived from the later *Ainulindalë* (that AAm followed the last version, D, of that work is shown by various details, as for instance the names *Ëa*, *Illuin*, and *Ormal,* the first of these entering D by later addition, and those of the Lamps replacing *Forontë* and *Hyarantë* by emendation). But there is much that is entirely new: as that Manwë held a great feast on the Isle of Almaren, where Tulkas espoused Nessa; that Sauron was 'a great craftsman of the household of Aulë'; that the Valar were unable to overcome Melkor at that time because of the need to subdue the turmoil of the Earth and to preserve what they might of what they had achieved; and

other features mentioned below. – The question of the cosmology is discussed at the end of this commentary.

§15 The statement that under the light of the Lamps 'there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth' (cf. also §18, where Vana robed Nessa in flowers at the feast on Almaren) belongs with the *Ainulindalë* (§31): 'flowers of many hues, and trees whose blossom was like snow upon the mountains … beasts and birds came forth' — where however the text was corrected ('As yet no flower had bloomed nor any bird had sung'). See p. 22 note 17, and p. 38, §31.

§20 A structural difference between AAm and the *Ainulindalë* is that in the latter Melkor did not begin the delving of Utumno until *after* the overthrow of the Lamps and his escape from the Valar (§32) — a story that goes back through the texts to the old 'Sketch of the Mythology'. In AAm, on the other hand, Melkor built Utumno, or was at least far advanced in the work, before the Valar were aware of him, and it was from Utumno that the blight and corruption proceeded; the Valar then perceived his presence in Arda and 'sought for his hiding-place', and it was this (as it appears) that led to Melkor's sudden emergence in open war and the casting down of the Lamps.

§22 The attack on Melkor by the Valar returning out of Valinor, described in the *Ainulindalë* (§32), is not mentioned in AAm, which says only that they 'could not at that time overcome him', taking up the words of QS §12 (V.208). That the idea had been abandoned is seen subsequently, p. 78, §47.

§23 That all life in Aman was free from any fading or withering, and free of blight and sickness, had not actually been said in previous texts.

§24 Whereas in the texts of the 1930s the old idea of the *Lost Tales* that the stars were created in two separate acts (I.69, 113–14, 133) had been abandoned, it now reappears: Varda wrought stars 'in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ea', and later in AAm (p. 71, §35) it is told that 'she made stars newer and brighter' before the awakening of the Elves. This is presumably to be associated with the conception in the later *Ainulindalë* (§§14, 28) of the establishment of Arda 'in the midst of the innumerable stars'.

§§25–6 That the Trees grew on a green mound in the Ring of Doom

is a new detail, though the implication of QS §14 (V.209) is that the Trees were in the Ring. The Ring and the Mound are here said to have been before the western gate of Valmar; in the *Lost Tales* the Trees were to the north of the city, and were moreover 'leagues asunder' from each other (I.71, 143).

§28 This account of the light that spilled from the Trees being drawn by Maiar from the wells of Varda to 'water' all the lands of Valinor has its roots in the old idea that the Trees 'must needs be *watered* with light to have sap and live' (I.73).

§29 At the end of this paragraph is a remarkable new detail, that after a thousand days the Trees put out a new branch; and that this was why a Valian Year was so constituted. It is apparent — and is stated here expressly — that the Valian day had twelve hours because the period of mingled light was exactly five times shorter than the period of full light-flowering of either Telperion or Laurelin; if it had been three times shorter the day would have had eight hours, and so on. The Valian day was therefore *of the Trees' nature*. We now learn that the Valian year of 1000 days was also *due to the Trees' nature*, since after that time the Trees would put out a new branch.

There is no suggestion here that the further calculation that a hundred years constituted a Valian Age (which goes back to the earliest *Annals*, IV.263) was related to the inner structure of the Trees; but it is said in the section *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning* (§6) that the Lore-masters supposed 'that the Valar *so devised* the hours of the Trees that one hundred of such years so measured should be in duration as one age of the Valar *(as those ages were in the days of their labours before the foundation of Valinor)*' — i.e., before the Trees. Since the two passages are only separated by a few pages in the same manuscript the presumption is that they are not contradictory; and taken together the meaning can only be that the periods of the Trees, which were of their nature, were nonetheless related to a mode of measurement of time before the Trees came into existence. That in turn seems to demand that the Valar knew, and had 'devised', before ever Yavanna and Nienna came to the Green Mound, the periodic nature of the Trees' light.

The cosmological problem is here provided with new evidences. The relevant statements in this first section of AAm are these:

§1 Ëa is 'the World that is'; the Valar are 'the Powers of Ëa'.

§11 After ages of labour 'in the great halls of Ëa the Valar descended into Arda in the beginning of its being'.

§13 Tulkas came to Arda 'out of distant regions of Ëa'.

§17 Melkor gathered spirits 'out of the voids of Ëa'; and he 'drew near again unto Arda, and looked down upon it'.

§18 The Valar did not perceive the dark shadow 'cast from afar by Melkor'.

§19 Melkor 'passed over the borders of Ëa' > 'passed over the Walls of the Night upon the borders of Arda' > 'passed over the Walls of the Night' (note 19).

§23 The Outer Sea 'encircled the kingdom of Arda, and beyond were the Walls of the Night'.

The Walls of the Night have not been named elsewhere: but it is hard to see, especially in view of the sentence cited from §23, how they can not be equated with the Walls of the World. I have said (p. 29) that the departure of Melkor from Arda in the *Ainulindalë* — the new story that came in after *The Lord of the Rings* — raises the question of the passage of the Walls of the World and of the form which that conception now took. The idea of such a passage in fact appeared, and most puzzlingly, in the earlier period, at the end of Q, where it is said that some believe that Melko at times returns to the world, and that he 'creeps back surmounting the Walls' (IV.164, 253). The passage in AAm §19 (as emended) is unequivocal: Melkor *passed over* the Walls of the Night. We have returned to the earliest imagination of the Walls: cf. my remark in I.227, 'the implication seems clear that the Walls were originally conceived like the walls of terrestrial cities, or gardens — walls with a top: a "ring-fence".' Thus, we may suppose, Melkor could 'look down upon Arda' (§17); thus his vast shadow could be cast even before he passed over the Walls (§18); and thus Tulkas (§13) and the spirits summoned by Melkor (§19) could enter the 'fenced region' (as *Arda* is defined, p. 7).

But the phrase 'he passed over the Walls of the Night' was an emendation of what my father first wrote: 'he passed over the borders of Ëa'. Can this mean anything other than that on entering Arda Melkor left Ëa? In this connection one may turn back to the two *Ambarkanta* diagrams of 'Ilu' (IV.242–5), on which much later

(perhaps about this time) my father made pencilled corrections to *llurambar* 'the Walls of the World', changing this to *Ëarambar* ('the Walls of Ea'). (Of course, if the Walls are no longer conceived as a spherical shell — whence the expression 'globed amid the Void' as used in the early *Ainulindalë* versions — but as a surmountable rampart, the *Ëarambar* cannot be taken as the same conception as the *Ilurambar*, but only as a new name for the Walls, now differently conceived; and the substitution of the new name on the old diagrams is therefore to that extent misleading.) It is likewise hard to see what *Ëarambar* can mean but 'the Walls that *fence out* the dark wastes of "the voids of Ëa"' (an expression used in §17), in contrast to *Ilurambar* 'the Walls that *fence in* Ilu.'

The difficulty with this, of course, is that Ëa is elsewhere defined as the 'Universe of that which Is' (p. 7), 'Creation the Universe' (p. 39), and Ëa therefore necessarily comprehends Arda; it is in any case abundantly clear from all the texts of the later period that Arda is within Ëa. But it may be that Arda can nonetheless be regarded as separate from Ëa when Ëa is regarded as 'Space'.

Amid all the ambiguities (most especially, in the use of the word 'World'), the testimony seems to be that in these texts the *Ambarkanta* world-image survived at least in the conception of the Outer Sea extending to the Walls of the World, now called the Walls of the Night — though the Walls have come to be differently conceived (see also p. 135, §168). Now in the revision of 'The Silmarillion' made in 1951 the phrase in QS §12 (V.209) 'the Walls of the World fence out the Void and the Eldest Dark' — a phrase in perfect agreement of course with the *Ambarkanta* — was retained (p. 154). This is a central difficulty in relation to the *Ainulindalë*, where it is made as plain as could be wished that Ëa came into being *in the Void*, it was *globed amid the Void* (§§11, 20, and see pp. 37–8); how then can the Walls of Arda 'fence out the Void and the Eldest Darkness'?

A possible explanation, of a sort, may be hinted at in the words cited above from AAm §17: Melkor gathered spirits *out of the voids of Ëa.* It may be that, although AAm is not far distant in time from the last version (D) of the *Ainulindalë*, my father's conception did not in fact now accord entirely with what he had written there; that (as I suggested, p. 39) he was now thinking of Arda as being 'set within an indefinite vastness in which all "Creation" is comprehended', rather than of a bounded Ëa itself set 'amid the

Void'. Then, beyond the Walls of the Night, the bounds of Arda, stretch 'the voids of Ëa'. But this suggestion does not, of course, clear up all the problems, ambiguities, and apparent contradictions in the cosmology of the later period, which have been discussed earlier.

★

I have mentioned (p. 47) that there exists a typescript of the early part of AAm that is quite distinct from the amanuensis typescript of the whole work. I was unaware of its existence when the text of *The Silmarillion* was prepared for publication. It was taken directly from and closely based upon the AAm manuscript, and was certainly made by my father, who introduced changes from the manuscript as he typed. It has in fact a great many such changes, mostly minor or very minor, but also some important alterations and additions; and it does not include the section *Of the Beginning of Time and its Reckoning*. None of these changes appear in the emendations made to the amanuensis typescript or its carbon copy, except the removal of the section on the Reckoning of Time (p. 68).

I will refer to this text as '**AAm***'. There seems no way to determine with certainty when it was made, and I can only record my feeling that it belongs with the writing of the AAm manuscript rather than to some later time. At any rate my father soon abandoned it (see p. 80). It may be that having set it aside he forgot about it, or lost it; and when the opportunity arose to have the work typed by a secretary who was a trained typist (as appears to be the case) he simply handed over the AAm manuscript as it stood (including therefore the section on the Reckoning of Time, although in AAm* he had cut this out).

I give now the noteworthy changes in AAm* (which extends a short way beyond the point reached in this first section; for the remainder of the text see pp. 79–80).

The preamble

> Here begin the 'Annals of Aman'. Rúmil made them in the Elder Days, and they were held in memory by the Exiles. Those parts which we learned and remembered were thus set down in Númenor before the Shadow fell upon it.

This is especially interesting since it shows a different mode of transmission from the 'Pengoloð — Ælfwine' tradition: the *Annals* are conceived as a written work made in Númenor, deriving from the 'Exiles', the Noldor in Middle-earth, who themselves derived it from the work of Rúmil. The idea that Númenor was an essential element in the transmission of the legends of the Elder Days will reappear (see especially pp. 370, 373–4, 401–2).

§1For 'chieftains of the Valar' AAm* has 'lords of the Valar', and subsequently. *Lorien* was changed in pencil on the typescript to *Lorion* (but not in the passage cited under §3 below).

§2In AAm the old phrase 'Manwë and Melkor were most puissant and were brethren' was preserved, but AAm* has here:

> Melkor and Manwë were brethren in the thought of Eru, and the eldest of their kind, and their power was equal and greater than that of all others who dwelt in Arda. Manwë is King of the Valar …

It is said in the later *Ainulindalë* (§§5, 9) that Melkor was the mightiest of the Ainur, and this in fact goes back to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* text B of the *Ainulindalë* (see V.164 note 4 for the different statements made on this subject). Later in AAm (p. 97, §102) Fëanor 'shut the doors of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa'.

This text has 'Oromë and Tulkas were the youngest in the thought of Eru' where AAm has 'younger'.

§3There is a strange mixture of present and past tenses in this passage: thus 'Vána the fair is the wife of Oromë', 'Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos', but 'No spouse had Ulmo, nor Melkor', 'No lord had Nienna', 'the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale'. On this question see pp. 204–5.

It is not now said that Vana (marked Vána at the first occurrence but not subsequently) was the sister of Yavanna (see p. 59).

As typed, the passage beginning 'No lord had Nienna' (spelt thus, not Niënna, at all occurrences in AAm*) ran thus:

> No lord had Nienna, queen of Shadow, Manwë's sister. The wife of Tulkas was Nessa the Young; and the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale. These do not sit in the councils of the Valar but are the highest among the Maiar.

In AAm it is said of Estë alone that 'she goes not to the councils of the Valar', and her name does not appear in the

list of the queens of the Valar: she is 'the chief of the Maiar'. In the present text, despite the exclusion of Nessa also from the councils, and the statement that she and Estë 'are the highest among the Maiar', her name still stands in the list of the queens. Contemporary emendations to the typescript produced this remarkable change:

> No lord had Nienna, Manwë's sister; nor Nessa the Evermaid. The wife of Tulkas was Lëa the Young; and the wife of Lorien was Estë the Pale …

The text then continues as before, so that the two who do not sit in the councils of the Valar and are 'the highest among the Maiar' become Lëa and Estë. There is no trace of this development in any other text, but Lëa appears again in AAm* as the text was typed (see under §18 below).

§4This paragraph was substantially extended:

> With these great powers came many other spirits of the same kind, begotten in the thought of Eru before the making of Eä, but having less might and authority. These are the Maiar, the people of the Valar; they are beautiful, but their number is not known and few have names among Elves or Men.
>
> There are also those whom we call the Valarindi, who are the Children of the Valar, begotten of their love after their entry into Eä. They are the elder children of the World; and though their being began within Eä, yet they are of the race of the Ainur, who were before the world, and they have power and rank below that of the Valar only.

§12At the end of this paragraph AAm* adds: 'So passed many years of the Valar in strife.'

§14The date V.Y.1900 of the setting up of the Lamps is omitted in AAm*.

§15AAm* retains the words of AAm, 'and there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth …' See the commentary on this passage, p. 60: the reference to the appearance of birds and flowers at this time was removed from *Ainulindalë* D by what looks to be a fairly early change in the text, and there is in this a suggestion that the two versions of the opening of the *Annals of Aman* belong fairly closely together (see p. 64).

§17This paragraph underwent several modifications:

> Now Melkor knew all that was done; for even then he had secret friends among the Maiar, whom he had converted to his cause, whether in the first playing of the Ainulindalë or afterwards in Eä. Of these the chief, as afterwards became known, was Sauron, a great craftsman of the household of Aulë. Thus far off in the dark places of Eä, to which he had retreated, Melkor was filled with new hatred, being jealous of the work of his peers, whom he desired to make subject to himself. Therefore he had gathered to himself spirits out of the voids of Eä who served him, until he deemed that he was strong; and seeing now his time he drew near to Arda again; and he looked down upon it, and the beauty of the Earth in its Spring filled him with wonder, but because it was not his, he resolved to destroy it.

§18Here Tulkas' wife Lëa the Young appears again, in the text as typed and not by emendation (see under §3 above), named now *Lëa-vinya* ('Lëa the Young'):

> It is told that in that feast of the Spring of Arda Tulkas espoused Lëa-vinya, fairest of the maidens of Yavanna, and Vana robed her in flowers that came then first to their opening; and she danced before the Valar …

On the reference to the first flowers see under §15 above.

§19AAm* has 'the Walls of Night' for 'the Walls of the Night', and again in §23.

§20Now Melkor began the delving and building of a vast fortress deep under the Earth, [*struck out:* beneath the roots of] far from the light of Illuin; and he raised great mountains above his halls. That stronghold was after called Utumno the Deep-hidden; and though the Valar for a long time knew nothing of it…

In AAm Utumno was delved 'beneath dark mountains'; the new text, in which Melkor raised mountains above it (as Thangorodrim above Angband), arose in the act of typing.

§21Where AAm has 'And he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal' AAm* has:

> He came down like a black storm from the North, and he assailed the lights of Illuin and Ormal.

§22The conclusion of this paragraph in AAm, 'who were yet to

come in a time that was hidden from the Valar', is omitted in AAm*.

§23 The word 'gods' was removed in AAm* at both occurrences: at the beginning of the paragraph 'the gods had no abiding place' becomes 'they had', and near the end 'for the gods dwelt there' becomes 'for the Servants of Ilúvatar dwelt there'.

The Land of Aman was 'upon the borders of the ancient world' (i.e. the world before the Cataclysm); 'upon the borders of the world' AAm. The passage concerning Taniquetil was changed to read thus:

> But above all the mountains of the Pelóri was that height which was named Taniquetil Oiolossë, the gleaming peak of Everwhite, upon whose summit Manwë set his throne, before the doors of the domed halls of Varda.

§25 In AAm it is said that 'the Valar built their city'; AAm* has:

> … in the midst of the plain west of the Pelóri Aulë and his people built for them a fair city. That city they named Valimar the Blessed.

This reappears from the *Lost Tales*; cf. I.77: 'Now have I recounted the manner of the dwellings of all the great Gods which Aulë of his craftsmanship raised in Valinor.' — This is the first occurrence of the form *Valimar* (again in §§26, 28 of this text).

§26 After the words 'But Nienna sat silent in thought, and her tears fell upon the mould' there is a footnote in the new version:

> For it is said that even in the Music Nienna took little part, but listened intent to all that she heard. Therefore she was rich in memory, and farsighted, perceiving how the themes should unfold in the Tale of Arda. But she had little mirth, and all her love was mingled with pity, grieving for the harms of the world and for the things that failed of fulfilment. So great was her ruth, it is said, that she could not endure to the end of the Music. Therefore she has not the hope of Manwë. He is more farseeing; but Pity is the heart of Nienna.

On this passage see p. 388 and note 2. The statement here that Nienna 'could not endure to the end of the Music', and that 'therefore she has not the hope of Manwë', is very striking; but it is not said in what Manwë's hope lies. It may possibly be relevant to recall the Pengoloð footnote to *Ainulindalë* D, §19

(p. 31):

> And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World.

§28For ‘hoarded in mighty vats’ AAm* has ‘hoarded in deep pools’.

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It remains to consider the very few emendations made to the amanuensis typescript of AAm in this opening section, and those (almost entirely different) made to the carbon copy. These changes were hasty, and casual, in no sense a real revision of the work. They were made at some later time which I am unable to define; but they have the effect of bringing the opening of AAm into agreement with the latest form of the other tradition, proceeding from QS chapter 1 ‘Of the Valar’ and ultimately issuing in the short independent work *Valaquenta*.

On the top copy of the typescript not only was the section on the Reckoning of Time struck through (see p. 64) but also the compressed account of the Valar at the beginning: a note on the covering page of the text directs that the *Annals* are to start at the First Year of the Valar in Arda (§11 in this book). But pencilled changes had been made to §§1–4 before this:

§1‘nine chieftains’ > ‘seven chieftains’; Ossë and Melkor were struck from the list. On the removal of Ossë see p. 91, §70.

§2The word ‘also’ added in ‘The queens of the Valar are also seven’; Estë added, and Uinen removed, so that the list becomes ‘Varda, Yavanna, Nienna, Estë, Vairë, Vana, and Nessa’.

§3‘Varda was Manwë’s spouse from the beginning’ > ‘Varda was Manwë’s spouse from the beginning of Arda’

‘and Uinen, lady of the seas, is the spouse of Ossë’ was struck out (a consequence simply of Ossë’s being no longer numbered among the ‘chieftains’).

‘Manwë’s sister and Melkor’s’ (of Nienna) was struck out.

‘but she goes not to the councils of the Valar and is not accounted among the rulers of Arda, but is the chief of the

Maiar' (of Estë) was struck out (a consequence of Estë's now being included in the 'queens').

§4 'And with them are numbered also the Valarindi …' to the end of the paragraph was struck out (see below).

§28 'mighty vats' > 'shining wells' (cf. the change made in AAm*, p. 68).

Quite distinct changes were made on the carbon copy in this section on the Valar. In §3 'the wife of Oromë' and 'Tulkas' wife' were changed to 'the spouse of Oromë' and 'Tulkas' spouse'; 'No lord hath Nienna' was changed to 'No companion hath Nienna'; and in the margin against these changes my father wrote:

> Note that 'spouse' meant only an 'association'. The Valar had no bodies, but could assume shapes. After the coming of the Eldar they most often used shapes of 'human' form, though taller *(not* gigantic) and more magnificent.

At the same time the passage concerning the Valarindi, the Children of the Valar, at the end of §4 was struck out (as it was also on the top copy), since this note is a most definitive statement that any such conception was out of the question.

A few other pencillings were made at subsequent points in the carbon copy:

§20 Against *Utumno* is pencilled: 'Utupnŭ TUI? cover over, hide'; with this cf. AAm* §20 (p. 67): 'that stronghold was after called Utumno the Deep-hidden', and see the *Etymologies* (V.394), stem TUB, where the original form of the name is given as **Utubnu*.

§23 Where the word 'gods' was replaced by 'the Servants of Ilúvatar' in AAm* (p. 67) my father corrected it on the carbon copy of the typescript to 'the Deathless'. At the occurrence of 'gods' at the beginning of the paragraph he made the same change (to 'they') as in AAm*.

§25 After 'a green mound' is added *Ezellohar*; and in §26 *Ezellohar* replaces 'that Green Mound'.

Second section of the Annals of Aman

Here begins a new Reckoning in the Light of the Trees

1*

§30For one thousand years of the Trees the Valar dwelt in bliss in Valinor beyond the Mountains of Aman, and all Middle-earth lay in a twilight under the stars. Thither the Valar seldom came, save only Yavanna and Oromë; and Yavanna often would walk there in the shadows, grieving because all the growth and promise of the Spring of Arda was checked. And she set a sleep upon many fair things that had arisen in the Spring, both tree and herb and beast and bird, so that they should not age but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be. But Melkor dwelt in Utumno, and he slept not, but watched, and laboured; and the evil things that he had perverted walked abroad, and the dark and slumbering woods were haunted by monsters and shapes of dread. And in Utumno he wrought the race of demons whom the Elves after named the Balrogs. But these came not yet from the gates of Utumno, because of the watchfulness of Oromë.

§31Now Oromë dearly loved all the works of Yavanna, and he was ever ready to her bidding. And for this reason, and because he desired at whiles to ride in forests greater and wider than the friths of Valinor, he would often come also to Middle-earth, and there go a-hunting under the stars. Then his white horse, Nahar, shone like silver in the shadows; and the sleeping earth trembled at the beat of his golden hooves. And Oromë would blow his mighty horn, whereat the mountains shook, and things of evil fled away; but Melkor quailed in Utumno and dared not venture forth. For it is said that even as his malice grew, and the strength of his hatred, so the heart of Melkor failed; and with all his knowledge and his might and his many servants he became craven, giving battle only to those of little strength, tormenting the weak, and trusting ever to his slaves and creatures to do his evil work. Yet ever his dominion spread southward over Middle-earth, for even as Oromë passed the servants of Melkor would gather again; and the Earth was full of shadows and deceit.

1000

§32It came to pass that the Valar held council, for they became troubled by the tidings that Yavanna and Oromë brought from the Outer Lands. And Yavanna spoke before the Valar, and foretold that the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar was drawing nigh, albeit the hour and the place of that coming was known only to Ilúvatar. And

Yavanna besought Manwë to give light to Middle-earth, for the stay of the evils of Melkor and the comfort of the Children; and Oromë and Tulkas spoke likewise, being eager for war with Utumno.

§33But Mandos spoke and said that though the Coming was prepared it should not yet be for many Years; and the Elder Children should come in the darkness and look first upon the Stars. For so it was ordained.

§34Then Varda went forth from the council, and she looked out from the height of Taniquetil, and beheld the darkness of the Earth beneath the innumerable stars, faint and far. Then she began a great labour, the greatest of all the works of the Valar since their coming unto Arda.

1000–1050

§35Now Varda took the light that issued from Telperion and was stored in Valinor and she made stars newer and brighter. And many other of the ancient stars she gathered together and set as signs in the heavens of Arda. The greatest of these was Menelmakar, the Swordsman of the Sky. This, it is said, was a sign of Túrin Turambar, who should come into the world, and a foreshowing of the Last Battle that shall be at the end of Days.

1050

§36Last of all Varda made the sign of bright stars that is called the Valakirka, the Sickle of the Gods, and this she hung about the North as a threat unto Utumno and a token of the doom of Melkor.

§37In that hour, it is said, the Quendi, the Elder Children of Ilúvatar, awoke: these Men have named the Elves, and many other names. By the Waters of Awakening, Kuiviénen, they rose from the sleep of Ilúvatar and their eyes beheld first of all things the stars of heaven. Therefore they have ever loved the starlight, and have revered Varda Elentárië above all the Valar.

§38In the changes of the world the shapes of lands and of seas have been broken and remade; rivers have not kept their courses, neither have mountains remained steadfast; and to Kuiviénen there is no returning. But it is said among the Quendi that it lay far off in Middle-earth, eastward of Endon (which is the midmost point) and northward; and it was a bay in the Inland Sea of Helkar. And that sea stood where aforetime the roots of the mountain of Illuin had

been ere Melkor overthrew it. Many waters flowed down thither from heights in the East, and the first sound that was heard by the ears of the Elves was the sound of water flowing, and the sound of water falling over stone.

§39Long the Quendi dwelt in their first home by the water under stars and they walked the Earth in wonder; and they began to make speech and to give names to all things that they perceived. And they named themselves the Quendi, signifying those that speak with voices; for as yet they had met no other living things that spoke or sang.

§40At this time also, it is said, Melian, fairest of the Maiar, desiring to look upon the stars, went up upon Taniquetil; and suddenly she desired to see Middle-earth, and she left Valinor and walked in the twilight.

1085

§41And when the Elves had dwelt in the world five and thirty Years of the Valar (which is like unto three hundred and thirty-five of our years) it chanced that Oromë rode to Endon in his hunting, and he turned north by the shores of Helkar and passed under the shadows of the Orokarni, the Mountains of the East. And on a sudden Nahar set up a great neighing and then stood still. And Oromë wondered and sat silent, and it seemed to him that in the quiet of the land under the stars he heard afar off many voices singing.

§42Thus it was that the Valar found at last, as it were by chance, those whom they had so long awaited. And when Oromë looked upon them he was filled with wonder, as though they were things unforeseen and unimagined; and he loved the Quendi, and named them Eldar, the people of the stars.

The original manuscript page was interpolated at this point, a passage being written in the margin as follows:

Yet by after-knowledge the masters of lore say sadly that Oromë was not, mayhap, the first of the Great Ones to look upon the Elves. For Melkor was on the watch, and his spies were many. And it is thought that lurking near his servants had led astray some of the Quendi that ventured afield, and they took them as captives to Utumno, and there enslaved them. Of these slaves it is held came the Orkor that were afterward chief foes of the Eldar. And Melkor's lies were soon abroad, so

that whispers were heard among the Quendi, warning them that if any of their kindred passed away into the shadows and were seen no more, they must beware of a fell huntsman on a great horse, for he it was that carried them off to devour them. Hence it was that at the approach of Oromë many of the Quendi fled and hid themselves.

The original text then continues, with a new date 1086, 'Swiftly Oromë rode back to Valinor and brought tidings to the Valar' (see §46 below). But the interpolated passage just given was subsequently replaced on a new page by the following long and important passage §§43–5 (found in the typescript as typed):

§43Yet many of the Quendi were adread at his coming. This was the doing of Melkor. For by after-knowledge the masters of lore say that Melkor, ever watchful, was first aware of the awakening of the Quendi, and sent shadows and evil spirits to watch and waylay them. So it came to pass, some years ere the coming of Oromë, that if any of the Elves strayed far abroad, alone or few together, they would often vanish and never return; and the Quendi said that the Hunter had caught them, and they were afraid. Even so, in the most ancient songs of our people, of which some echoes are remembered still in the West, we hear of the shadow-shapes that walked in the hills about Kuiviénen, or would pass suddenly over the stars; and of the dark Rider upon his wild horse that pursued those that wandered to take them and devour them. Now Melkor greatly hated and feared the riding of Oromë, and either verily he sent his dark servants as riders, or he set lying whispers abroad, for the purpose that the Quendi should shun Oromë, if ever haply they met.

§44Thus it was that when Nahar neighed and Oromë indeed came among them, some of the Quendi hid themselves, and some fled and were lost. But those that had the courage to stay perceived swiftly that the Great Rider was noble and fair and no shape out of Darkness; for the Light of Aman was in his face, and all the noblest of the Quendi were drawn towards it.

§45But of those hapless who were ensnared by Melkor little is known of a certainty. For who of the living hath descended into the pits of Utumno, or hath explored the darkness of the counsels of Melkor? Yet this is held true by the wise of Eressëa: that all those of the Quendi that came into the hands of Melkor, ere Utumno was broken, were put there in prison, and by slow arts of cruelty and wickedness were corrupted and enslaved. Thus did Melkor breed the hideous race of the Orkor in envy and mockery of the Eldar, of

whom they were afterwards the bitterest foes. For the Orkor had life and multiplied after the manner of the Children of Ilúvatar; and naught that had life of its own, nor the semblance thereof, could ever Melkor make since his rebellion in the Ainulindalë before the Beginning: so say the wise. And deep in their dark hearts the Orkor loathed the Master whom they served in fear, the maker only of their misery. This maybe was the vilest deed of Melkor and the most hateful to Eru.

1086

§46Oromë tarried a while among the Quendi, and then swiftly he rode back to Valinor and brought the tidings to the Valar. And he spoke of the shadows that troubled Kuiviénen. Then the Valar sat in council and debated long what it were best to do for the guarding of the Quendi; but Oromë returned at once to Middle-earth and abode with the Elves.

1090

§47Manwë sat long in thought upon Taniquetil, and he resolved at the last to make war upon Melkor, though Arda should receive yet more hurts in that strife. For the first time, therefore, the Valar assailed Melkor, not he the Valar, and they came forth to war in all their might, and they defeated him utterly. This they did on behalf of the Elves, and Melkor knew it well, and forgot it not.

1090–2

§48Melkor met the onset of the Valar in the North-west of Middle-earth, and all that region was much broken. But this first victory of the hosts of the West was swift and easy, and the servants of Melkor fled before them to Utumno. Then the Valar marched over Middle-earth, and they set a guard over Kuiviénen; and thereafter the Quendi knew naught of the Great War of the Gods, save that the Earth shook and groaned beneath them, and the waters were moved; and in the North there were lights as of mighty fires. But after two years the Valar passed into the far North and began the long siege of Utumno.

1092–1100

§49That siege was long and grievous, and many battles were fought before its gates of which naught but the rumour is known to the Quendi. Middle-earth was sorely shaken in that time, and the Great Sea that sundered it from Aman grew wide and deep. And the lands of the far North were all made desolate in those days, and so have ever remained; for there Utumno was delved exceeding deep, and its pits and caverns reached out far beneath the earth, and they were filled with fires and with great hosts of the servants of Melkor.

1099

§50It came to pass that at last the gates of Utumno were broken and its halls unroofed, and Melkor took refuge in the uttermost pit. Thence, seeing that all was lost (for that time), he sent forth on a sudden a host of Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained, and they assailed the standard of Manwë, as it were a tide of flame. But they were withered in the wind of his wrath and slain with the lightning of his sword; and Melkor stood at last alone. Then, since he was but one against many, Tulkas stood forth as champion of the Valar and wrestled with him and cast him upon his face, and bound him with the chain Angainor. Thus ended the first war of the West upon the North.

Commentary on the second section of the Annals of Aman

(There are no textual notes to this section of the text.) In the portion given above the *Annals of Aman* correspond to the opening of Chapter 3 *Of the Coming of the Elves* in the other or 'Silmarillion' tradition (QS §§18–21, V.211–13). Contemporary (more or less) with the writing of the *Annals of Aman* was the major revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, but here comparison must obviously be restricted to the pr*e-Lord of the Rings* text, together with AV 2, annals V.Y. 1000–1990 (V.III–12).

§30In AAm there is now recounted the laying by Yavanna of a sleep on living things that had awoken in the Spring of Arda, of which there is no trace in QS (or in the later rewritings).

The making of the Balrogs is then mentioned; and while in AAm (§17) the account of Melkor's 'host', spirits 'out of the voids of Ëa' and 'secret friends and spies among the Maiar', is fuller than in the other tradition at any stage, the Balrogs are

still firmly stated to be *demons of his own making*, and moreover to have been made in Utumno at this time. On the conception of Balrogs in AAm see further under §§42–5, 50 in this commentary, and especially p. 79, §30.

§31 That Oromë's horse was white and shod with gold is stated in QS (§24) and Q (§2), but this is the first appearance of the horse's name *Nahar*. Oromë is here represented as a guardian presence in Middle-earth, to such an extent even that the Balrogs did not issue from Utumno on account of him (§30); cf. AV 2 (V.111) 'Morgoth withdrew before his horn'.

§§34–6 On the two star-makings see p. 61, §24. There is here the remarkable statement that *Menelmakar* (Orion) was 'a sign of Turin Turambar, who should come into the world, and a foreshowing of the Last Battle that shall be at the end of Days.' This is a reference to the Second Prophecy of Mandos (in the *Quenta*, IV. 165):

> Then shall the last battle be gathered on the fields of Valinor. In that day Tulkas shall strive with Melko, and on his right shall stand Fionwë and on his left Túrin Turambar, son of Húrin, Conqueror of Fate, coming from the halls of Mandos; and it shall be the black sword of Turin that deals unto Melko his death and final end; and so shall the children of Húrin and all Men be avenged.

The Quenya name *Menelmacar* is mentioned in Appendix E (I) to *The Lord of the Rings*; in *The Fellowship of the Ring* (p. 91) appears the Sindarin form: 'the Swordsman of the Sky, Menelvagor with his shining belt'.

§37 That the Elves awoke at the first shining of the Sickle of the Gods is told in AV 2 (V.lll); 'at the opening of the first stars' QS §20.

§38 The reference to the site of Kuiviénen is interesting. Of this no more is said in the other tradition than that it lay 'in the East of the Middle-earth' (QS §20, preserved throughout the later texts). In AAm Kuiviénen lay N.E. of Endon, the midmost point. In the list of names accompanying the *Ambarkanta* (IV.241) appears '*ambar-endya* or Middle Earth of which *Endor* is the midmost point', and *Endor* is written over the centre of the middle-land in the *Ambarkanta* diagrams (IV.243, 245) — on the map (IV.248–9) it is marked as a point: 'Endor Earth-middle', and here it was corrected to *Endon*, the form in the

present passage of AAm, though later changed back again to *Endor* (so also on the typescript of AAm my father corrected *Endon* to *Endor* here and in §41, p. 80). See IV.254–5.

In AAm Kuiviénen was 'a bay in the Inland Sea of Helkar'; in QS it is 'the starlit mere' (so also in Q), which was retained in the later texts. On the *Ambarkanta* map it is shown to the N.E. of Endor (Endon), and is marked at the eastern side of the Sea of Helkar; in the text it is 'beside the waters of Helkar' (IV.239). It is not clear whether these various statements show one and the same conception. Here in AAm is the first reference to the Sea of Helkar (formed after the fall of the northern Lamp) since the *Ambarkanta* – in which text the Lamp itself was called *Helkar*; see IV.256.

§39 Cf. QS §20: 'For a while [Oromë] abode with them, and taught them the language of the Gods, from whence afterwards they made the fair Elvish speech', and the *Lhammas* (V.168): 'of [Oromë] they learned after their capacity the speech of the Valar; and all the tongues that have been derived thence may be called Oromian or Quendian'. It is now said in AAm that the Quendi had achieved language, and that they gave names 'to all things that they perceived', before ever Oromë came upon them (which was 335 Years of the Sun since their awakening). Cf. *Gilfanon's Tale* in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.232): 'Now the Eldar or Qendi had the gift of speech direct from Ilúvatar'.

§40 This paragraph was interpolated into the manuscript; it appears in the typescript as typed. The placing of Melian's departure at this time derives from the *Annals of Valinor* (IV.264, V.lll); in QS (§31) it is said that she 'often strayed from Valinor on long journey into the Hither Lands'. The meaning of the words of AAm, that Melian, 'desiring to look upon the stars, went up upon Taniquetil', is presumably that she climbed on Taniquetil's eastern slopes, where the light of the Trees was hidden.

§41 As noted in IV.256, the statement that Oromë 'turned north by the shores of Helkar and passed under the shadows of the Orokarni, the Mountains of the East' agrees perfectly with the *Ambarkanta* map (IV.249; on the map the Orokarni are named Red Mountains).

'He heard afar off many voices singing': cf. QS §20: 'But

Oromë came upon them … while they dwelt yet silent beside the starlit mere, Kuiviénen'. See under §39 above.

§42 QS (§20) has here the extraordinary statement that 'Oromë looking upon the Elves was filled with love and wonder; for their coming was not in the Music of the Ainur, and was hidden in the secret thought of Ilúvatar'; see my discussion of this passage, V.216–17.

On the history of the meaning of the name *Eldar* see the references to this given under the entry *Eldar* in the Index to Vol.V.

§§42–5 *The origin of the Orcs*. The first appearance of the idea that their origin was connected with the Elves is in QS §18, and later in QS (§62) it is said that *when Morgoth returned to Middle-earth* after the destruction of the Trees

> he brought into being the race of the Orcs, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth. These Orcs Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Elves, and they were made of stone, but their hearts of hatred.

(For my father's changing views concerning the time of the origin of the Orcs in the chronology of the Elder Days see IV.314, V.238.) In the interpolation into the manuscript of AAm and its subsequent rewriting and extension (pp. 72–4) there appears, together with the story of the Rider who was rumoured to carry off the Quendi if they strayed, the theory that Melkor *bred* the Orcs (here called *Orkor*) 'in envy and mockery of the Eldar' *from Quendi enslaved in the east of Middle-earth* before ever Oromë came upon them. It is explicit (§45) that Melkor could *make* nothing that had life of its own since his rebellion; but this is in sharp contradiction to §30, where it is said that 'in Utumno he *wrought* the race of demons whom the Elves after named the Balrogs'. I do not think that the interpolation in which the former of these statements appears was made after any very long interval: my father's views on this subject seem to have been changing swiftly, and a different account of the origin of the Balrogs is found in the soon abandoned typescript which I have called AAm* (see p. 79, §30). The retention of the statement in §30, despite its contradiction to that in §45, was no doubt due to oversight, and both appear in the main typescript of AAm. — See further on the question of the origin of the Orcs p. 123, §127, and pp.

408 ff.

§47 The words ‘For the first time, therefore, the Valar assailed Melkor, not he the Valar’ show that the story in the *Ainulindalë* that the Valar came against him out of Valinor after the fall of the Lamps had been abandoned (p. 61, §22).

§49 On the changes in the Earth at the time of the Great War of the Gods as described in the *Ambarkanta* see IV.239. While the two texts are not necessarily contradictory, it is curious that it should be said in AAm that at this time ‘the Great Sea that sundered [Middle-earth] from Aman grew wide and deep’; for in the *Ambarkanta (ibid.*, and see the map, IV.249) the much greater width of the Western Sea than that of the Eastern came about at the time of the foundation of Valinor:

> For their further protection the Valar thrust away Middle-earth at the centre and crowded it eastward, so that it was bended, and the great sea of the West is very wide in the middle, the widest of all waters of the Earth. The shape of the Earth in the East was much like that in the West, save for the narrowing of the Eastern Sea, and the thrusting of the land thither.

§50 It is notable that the Balrogs were still at this time, when *The Lord of the Rings* had been completed, conceived to have existed in very large numbers (Melkor sent forth ‘a host of Balrogs’); see p. 80, §50.

★

The typescript text (AAm*) which my father began but soon abandoned continues for a little way beyond the point reached in the first section (p. 68). Significant differences from AAm are as follows:

§30… But Melkor dwelt in Utumno, and he did not sleep, but watched and laboured; and whatsoever good Yavanna worked in the lands he undid if he could, and the evil things that he had perverted walked far abroad, and the dark and slumbering woods were haunted by monsters and shapes of dread. And in Utumno he multiplied the race of the evil spirits that followed him, the Úmaiar, of whom the chief were those demons whom the Elves afterwards

named the Balrogath. But they did not yet come forth from the gates of Utumno because of their fear of Oromë.

The latter part of this passage is of much interest as showing a marked development from the idea that Melkor 'made' the Balrogs at this time (see p. 78). They now become 'evil spirits *(Úmaiar*) that followed him' — but he could 'multiply' them. The term *Úmaiar*, not met before, stands to *Maiar* as *Úvanimor* to *Vanimor* (see IV.293, footnote).

§31… and there would go a-hunting under the stars. He had great love of horses and of hounds, but all beasts were in his thought, and he hunted only the monsters and fell creatures of Melkor. If he descried them afar or his great hounds got wind of them, then his white horse, Nahar, shone like silver as it ran through the shadows, and the sleeping earth trembled at the beat of his golden hooves. And at the mort Oromë would blow his great horn, until the mountains shook …

mort: the horn-call blown at the kill.

… and trusting ever to his slaves to do his evil work, [his slaves and creatures, AAm]

§32It came to pass that Manwë summoned the Valar to council, for they were troubled by the tidings that Yavanna and Oromë brought from the Outer Lands, saying that if Melkor were left longer to work his will unhindered, all Middle-earth would fall into ruin irretrievable; and Manwë knew moreover that the coming of the Children of Ilúvatar was now drawing near, although the very hour and place of their coming was known only to Ilúvatar himself. And Manwë spoke of this to the Valar; and Yavanna besought him to give light to Middle-earth, for the stay of the evils of Melkor and the comfort of the Children; and

Here the typescript AAm* ends, at the foot of a page. Once again, what began as a copy was changing with gathering speed into a new version. But I see no reason to think that any more of it ever existed.

★

It remains to record a very few late scribbled changes and notes

made on one or other copy of the typescript of the whole text.

§§38, 41*Endon* > *Endor* (see p. 76, §38).

§42'and named them Eldar, the people of the stars' > 'and called them the people of the stars'. In the margin my father wrote (i.e. with reference to the original text): 'but he could not — [?as this] was later Quenya.'

§43Against the middle portion of this paragraph is a note in the margin: 'Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish.' See pp. 408 ff.

§50'a host of Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained' > 'his Balrogs, the last of his servants that remained faithful to him'. In the margin my father wrote: 'There should not be supposed more than say 3 or at most 7 ever existed.' See p. 79, §50.

Third section of the Annals of Aman

1100

The Chaining of Melkor

§51Then the Valar returned to the Land of Aman, and Melkor was led captive, bound hand and foot and blindfold; and he was brought to the Ring of Doom. There he lay upon his face before the feet of Manwë, and he sued for pardon and freedom, recalling his kinship with Manwë. But his prayer was denied, and it is said that in that hour the Valar would fain have put him to death. But death none can deal to any of the race of the Valar, neither can any, save Eru only, remove them from Ëa, the World that is, be they willing or unwilling. Therefore Manwë cast Melkor into prison, and he was shut in the fastness of Mandos, whence none can escape.

§52And the Valar doomed Melkor there to abide for three ages of Valinor, ere he should come forth again to be tried by his peers, and sue once more for terms of pardon. And this was done, and peace returned to the kingdom of Arda; and this was the Noontide of the Blessed Realm. Yet many evil things yet lingered in Middle-earth that had fled away from the wrath of the Lords of the West, or lay hidden in the deeps of the earth. For the vaults of Utumno were many, and hidden with deceit, and not all were discovered by the Valar.

1101

§53Now the Valar sat again in council and debated what they should do for the comfort and guidance of the Children of Ilúvatar. And at length, because of the great love that the Valar had for the Quendi, they sent a summons to them, bidding them to remove and dwell in bliss in Aman and in the Light of the Trees. And Oromë bore the message of the Valar to Kuiviénen.

1102

§54The Quendi were dismayed by the summons of the Valar, and they were unwilling to depart from Middle-earth. Therefore Oromë was sent again to them, and he chose from among them ambassadors who should go to Valinor and speak for their people. And three only of the chieftains of the Quendi were willing to adventure the journey: Ingwë, Finwë, and Elwë, who afterward were kings.

§55The three Elf-lords were brought, therefore, to Valmar, and there spoke with Manwë and the Valar; and they were filled with awe, but the beauty and splendour of the land of Valinor overcame their fear, and they desired the Light of the Trees.

1104

§56And after they had dwelt in Valinor a while, Oromë brought them back to Kuiviénen, and they spoke before their people and counselled them to heed the summons of the Valar and remove into the West.

1105

§57Then befell the first sundering of the Elvenfolk. For the kindred of Ingwë, and the most part of the kindreds of Finwë and Olwë, were swayed by the words of their lords, and were willing to depart and follow Oromë. And these were known ever after as the Eldar, by the name that Oromë gave to them in their own tongue. But the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë were unwilling and refused the summons, preferring the starlight and the wide spaces of the Earth to the rumour of the Trees. Now these dwelt furthest from the waters of Kuiviénen, and wandered in the hills, and they had not seen Oromë at his first coming, and of the Valar they knew no more

than shapes and rumours of wrath and power as they marched to war. And mayhap the lies of Melkor concerning Oromë and Nahar (that above were recalled) lived still among them, so that they feared him as a demon that would devour them.[1] These are the Avari, the Unwilling, and they were sundered in that time from the Eldar, and met never again until many ages were past.

§58The Eldar now prepared for their Great March, and they went in three hosts. First came the Vanyar, the most eager for the road, the people of Ingwë. Next came the Noldor, a greater host (though some remained behind), the people of Finwë. Last came the Teleri, and they were the least eager. Yet their host that began the March was greatest of all, and they had therefore two lords: Elwë Singollo, and Olwë his brother. And when all was made ready Oromë rode before them upon Nahar, white in the starlight. And they began their long journey and passed by the Sea of Helkar ere they bent somewhat westward.[2] And it is said that before them great clouds hung still black in the North above the ruins of war, and the stars in that region were hidden. Then not a few grew afraid and repented and turned back and are forgotten.

1115

§59Long and slow was the March of the Eldar into the West, for the leagues of Middle-earth were uncounted, and weary and pathless. Nor did the Eldar desire to hasten, for they were filled with wonder at all that they saw, and by many lands and rivers they would fain abide; and though all were yet willing to wander, not a few rather feared their journey's end than hoped for it. Therefore, whenever Oromë departed, as at times he would, having other matters to heed, they halted and went forward no more until he returned to guide them.

§60And it came to pass that after ten Years of journeying in this manner (which is to say in such a time as we now should reckon well nigh a century of our years) the Eldar passed through a forest, and came to a great river, wider and broader than any that they yet had seen, and beyond it were mountains whose sharp horns seemed to pierce the realm of the stars.[3]

§61This river, it is said, was even that river that was after called Anduin the Great, and was ever the frontier of the Westlands of Middle-earth. But the mountains were the Hithaeglir, the Towers of

Mist upon the borders of Eriador; yet they were taller and more terrible in those days, and they were reared by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë.4 Now the Teleri abode long on the east-bank of the River and wished to remain there, but the Vanyar and the Noldor passed the River with the aid of Oromë, and he led them to the passes of the mountains.5 And when Oromë was gone forward the Teleri looked upon the shadowy heights and were afraid.

§62Then one arose in the host of Olwë, which was ever hindmost on the march, and his name was Nano (or Dân in the tongue of his own people). And he forsook the westward march, and led away a numerous folk, and they went south down the River, and passed out of the knowledge of the Eldar until long years were over. These were the Nandor.

1125

§63And when again ten years had passed, the Vanyar and Noldor came at length over the mountains that stood between Eriador and the westernmost land of Middle-earth, that the Elves after named Beleriand. And the foremost companies passed over the Vale of Sirion and came to the shores of the Great Sea. Then great fear came upon them, and many repented sorely of their journey and withdrew into the woods of Beleriand. And Oromë returned to Valinor to seek the counsel of Manwë.

1128

§64Now the host of the Teleri came at last to Beleriand and dwelt in the eastward region beyond the River Gelion. And they came unwillingly, being urged by Elwë their king; for he was eager indeed to return to Valinor and the light that he had beheld (though his doom forbade it); and he wished not to be sundered from the Noldor, for he had great friendship with Finwë their lord.

1130

§65At this time Elwë strayed in the woods of Beleriand and was lost, and his people sought him long in vain. For as he journeyed homeward from a meeting with Finwë, he passed by the borders of Nan Elmoth. There he heard the nightingales singing, and he was spell-bound, for they were the birds of Melian the Maia, who came

from the gardens of Lorien in the Blessed Realm. And Elwë followed the birds deep into Nan Elmoth, and there he saw Melian standing in a glade open to heaven, and a starlit mist was about her. Thus began the love of Elwë Greymantle and Melian the fair; and he took her hand, and it is said that thus they stood while the stars measured out the courses of many Years, and the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark about them.

1132

§66Now Ulmo, by the counsel of the Valar, came to the shores of Middle-earth and spoke with the Eldar; and because of his words and the music which he made for them upon his conches their fear of the Sea was turned rather to desire. Therefore Ulmo and his servants took an island which long had stood alone amidst the Sea, since the tumults of the fall of Illuin, and they moved it, and brought it to the grey bay of Balar, as it were a mighty ship. And the Vanyar and the Noldor embarked upon the isle, Eressëa, and were drawn over the Sea, and came at last to the land of Aman.6 But the Teleri remained still in Middle-earth; for many dwelt in East Beleriand and heard not the summons of Ulmo until too late; and many searched yet for Elwë Singollo, their king, and would not depart without him. But when the Teleri learned that Ingwë and Finwë and their peoples were gone, they pressed on to the shore, and there dwelt in longing for their friends that had departed. And they took Olwë, Elwë's brother, to be their king. And Ossë and Uinen came to them and befriended them and taught them all manner of sea-lore and sea-music. Thus it came to be that the Teleri, who were from the beginning lovers of water, and the fairest singers of the Elvenfolk, were after enamoured of the seas, and their songs were filled with the sound of the waves upon the shore.

1133

§67In this Year the Vanyar and the Noldor came to Aman, and the cleft of the Kalakiryan7 was made in the Pelóri; and the Elves took possession of Eldamar, and began the building of the green hill of Túna in sight of the Sea. And upon Túna they raised the white walls of the Watchful City, Tirion the Hallowed.

1140

§68In this year Tirion was full-wrought, and the Tower of Ingwë was built, Mindon Eldaliéva, and its silver lamp was kindled. But Ingwë and many of the Vanyar yearned for the Light of the Trees, and he and many of his household departed and went to Valinor, and dwell forever with the people of Manwë. And though others of the Vanyar dwelt still in Tirion in fellowship with the Noldor, the sundering of those kindreds and of their tongue was begun; for ever and anon yet more of the Vanyar would depart.

1142

§69In this year Yavanna gave to the Noldor the White Tree, Galathilion, image of the Tree Telperion, and it was planted beneath the Mindon and grew and flourished.

1149

§70In this year Ulmo hearkened to the prayers of Finwë and went again to Middle-earth to bring Elwë and his people to Aman, if they would come. And most of them proved now willing indeed; but Ossë was grieved. For his care was for the seas of Middle-earth and the shores of the Outer Lands, and he came seldom to Aman, unless summoned to council; and he was ill-pleased that the fair voices of the Teleri should be heard no more in Middle-earth. Some therefore he persuaded to remain, and those were the Eldar that long abode on the coasts of Beleriand, the first mariners upon earth and the first makers of ships. Their havens were at Brithombar and Eglarest. Cirdan the Shipwright was their lord.

1150

§71The kinsfolk and friends of Elwë also were unwilling to depart; but Olwë would be gone, and at last Ulmo took all who would embark upon Eressëa and drew them over the deeps of the Sea. And the friends of Elwë were left behind, and they called themselves, therefore, in their own tongue the Eglath, the Forsaken People. And they sought still for Elwë in sorrow. But it was not his doom ever to return to the Light of the Trees, greatly though he had desired it. Yet the Light of Aman was in the face of Melian the fair, and in that light he was content.

1151

§72Now Ossë followed after the Teleri, and when they were come nigh to the Bay of Eldamar he called to them, and they knew his voice, and they begged Ulmo to stay their voyage. And Ulmo granted this, and at his bidding Ossë made fast the island and rooted it in the foundations of the Sea; and there the Teleri abode as they wished still under the stars of heaven, and yet within sight of Aman and the deathless shore; and they could see from afar the Light of the Trees as it passed through the Kalakiryan, and touched the dark waves to silver and gold.

§73Ulmo did this the more readily, for that he understood the hearts of the Teleri, and in the council of the Valar he had chiefly spoken against the summons, deeming that it were better for the Quendi to remain in Middle-earth. But the Valar were little pleased to learn what he had done; and Finwë grieved when the Teleri came not, and yet more when he learned that Elwë was forsaken, and knew that he should not see him again, unless it were in the halls of Mandos.

1152

§74At this time Elwë Singollo, it is said, awoke from his trance, and he dwelt with Melian in the woods of Beleriand. But he was a great lord and noble, tallest in stature of all the Children of Ilúvatar, and like unto a lord of the Maiar; and a high doom was before him. For he became a king renowned, and his folk were all the Eldar of Beleriand; the Sindar they were named, the Grey-elves, the Elves of the Twilight, and King Greymantle was he, Elu Thingol in the tongue of the Sindar. And Melian was his Queen, wiser than any child of Middle-earth; and of the love of Thingol and Melian there came into the world the fairest of all the Children of Ilúvatar that was or ever shall be.

1161

§75It came to pass that after the Teleri had dwelt for one hundred years of our reckoning upon the Lonely Isle their hearts were changed, and they were drawn towards the Light that flowed out from Aman. Therefore Ossë8 taught them the craft of shipbuilding, and when their ships were made ready he brought

them, as his parting gift, many strong-winged swans. And the swans drew the white ships of the Teleri over the windless sea. Thus at last and latest they came to Aman and the shores of Eldamar; and there the Noldor welcomed them with joy.

1162

§76In this year Olwë lord of the Teleri, with the aid of Finwë and the Noldor, began the building of Alqualondë, the Swanhaven, upon the coast of Eldamar, north of the Kalakiryan.

1165

§77In this year the last of the Vanyar departed from Tirion, and the Noldor dwelt there alone, and their converse and friendship thereafter was rather with the Teleri.

NOTES

1This sentence is an interpolation in the manuscript, and is itself rewritten from an earlier interpolation:

> And this, maybe, was also one of the first-fruits of the lies of Melkor for the deceit of the Quendi, that despite his sojourn among them many still feared him and Nahar his steed.

The typescript has the form given in the text.

2This is an emendation from ‘went north until Helkar was passed and then north-west’; the typescript has the emended sentence.

3My father added hastily here, using a ball-point pen and so apparently much later (see p. 102, §78):

> Here they dwelt for a year, and here Indis wife of Finwë bore him a son, eldest of all the second generation of the Eldar. He was first named Minyon First-begotten, but afterwards Curufinwë or Fëanor.

This was struck out, perhaps as soon as written; see note 5.

4‘and they were reared by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë’ is a pencilled addition that appears in the typescript as typed.

5Added to the manuscript here at the same time and in the same way as the passage given in note 3 (and struck out at the same time as that):

> Here Indis wife of Finwë was lost, and fell from a great height. And her body was found in a deep gorge, and there

buried. And when Finwë would not go forward, and wished to remain there, Oromë spoke to him of the fate of the Quendi, and how they could return again, if they would, after a while. For their spirits do not die, and yet do not leave Arda, and by the command of Eru a dwelling place is made for them in Aman. Then Finwë was eager to go forward.

6 After this there stood in the manuscript: 'and Ingwë and his household passed into Valinor, and dwell forever with the people of Manwë.' This was struck out and is not in the typescript, but it reappears in the annal for 1140.

7 *Kalakiryan* is a pencilled emendation from *Kalakirya*, and at subsequent occurrences (but at the very end of the *Annals*, p. 133, §180, *Kalakiryan* is the form in the manuscript as written).

8 *Ulmo* in the manuscript as first written, changed early to *Ossë*.

Commentary on the third section of the Annals of Aman

This section of AAm corresponds to QS Chapter 3 *Of the Coming of the Elves* (including 3(b) *Of Thingol* and 3(c) *Of Kôr and Alqualondë*) from §22 to §39 and elements of §§43–5; and to AV 2, Valian Years 1980–2111. These texts are found in V.213 ff., 112–13.

A cursory comparison shows that an enormous extension at large and in detail has taken place; and while concurrent development had proceeded in the 'Silmarillion' tradition also (with which AAm has not a few phrases in common), AAm is a very distinct narrative, with a large number of features absent from the other tradition and some actual divergences. Here, as before, I observe the more important developments in AAm in relation to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* narratives; and in many cases I restrict myself to a simple reference to the new elements that have entered the legends, it being implied in such cases that the matter in question is wholly new.

§51 Melkor sued for pardon in the Ring of Doom; the Valar wished to put him to death, but none can slay any of Valarin race, nor remove them from Eä, save Eru only.

§52 Melkor was condemned to Mandos for three ages (three hundred Valian Years); in AV 2, and in QS (§47), he was condemned for seven ages.

§54 Elwë, the third of the 'ambassadors', is now Thingol himself,

whereas in QS he was Thingol's brother; see V.217 §23, and cf. AV 2 (V.112): 'Thingol, brother of Elwë, lord of the Teleri'. The brother of Elwë-Thingol now becomes Olwë (§58).

§57 Only 'the most part' of the kindreds of Finwë and Olwë were willing to depart. The *Avari* were the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë (and presumably those of the other kindreds who would not go); and an explanation is given of their not going: they dwelt furthest from Kuiviénen and had not seen Oromë at his first coming.

§58 The First Host now bears the name *Vanyar*, not as previously *Lindar* (cf. p. 34, §36). The Third Host, the Teleri, had two lords, the brothers Elwë and Olwë; and Elwë is now called *Singollo* ('Greymantle', §65; in QS *Sindo* 'the Grey', §30). — The route taken by the Eldar on the Great March is described (and it agrees well with the track shown on the *Ambarkanta* map, IV.249). Many turned back in fear at the great clouds still hanging in the North.

§59 The slowness of the journey is described: the wonder of the Elves, the reluctance of many to complete the journey, the long halts. The journey took twenty Valian Years; in AV 1 it took ten (IV.272), and apparently also in AV 2.

§§60–1 Important names enter from *The Lord of the Rings*: *Anduin*, *Eriador*, *Hithaeglir* ('the Towers of Mist'); the forest east of the river is not named, but is of course Mirkwood. The origin of the Hithaeglir is told: they were raised by Melkor to hinder the riding of Oromë. I noticed (IV.256–7) in connection with the *Ambarkanta* map that there is no trace there of the Misty Mountains or of Anduin (which first appeared, as did Mirkwood, in *The Hobbit*, where the river is called the Great River of Wilderland).

The Teleri remained on the eastern bank of Anduin when the Vanyar and the Noldor crossed the river and went up into the passes of the Misty Mountains.

§62 It was at this point on the Great March that the Nandor broke off, and they went south down Anduin; they were of the Teleri (from the host of Olwë), and their leader's name was *Nano*, or Dân in the speech of his own people. In QS (§28) and AV 2 these people were of the Noldor, and in QS they were called in their own tongue *Danas*, after their first leader Dân; similarly in the *Lhammas* (V. 175–6). The name *Nandor* does

not appear in these works, but see the *Etymologies*, stems DAN and NDAN (V.353, 375), and also V.188.

§63 The fear of the Sea among the Vanyar and Noldor caused many to withdraw from the shores into the woods of Beleriand; and Oromë returned to Valinor to seek Manwë's counsel.

§64 The Teleri came reluctantly into Beleriand, urged on by Elwë, and dwelt at first in the east, beyond the River Gelion. Elwë had great friendship with Finwë.

§65 Elwë was journeying home from a meeting with Finwë when he entered Nan Elmoth. This name first emerged in the post-*Lord of the Rings* rewriting of the *Lay of Leithian* (III.346–7, 349). In QS (§32) it is not said where the meeting of Thingol and Melian took place; in AV 2 'Melian enchanted him in the woods of Beleriand'. The trance into which Elwë fell endured for many Valian Years (annals 1130, 1152: that is for more than two centuries measured by the Sun).

§66 Ulmo made music for the Elves and turned their fear of the Sea into desire. The Teleri came to the shores of the Sea when they heard that the Vanyar and the Noldor had departed, and took Olwë to be their king.

§67 The name *Kalakilya* 'Pass of Light' is found in QS and the *Lhammas*; cf. Quenya *kilya* 'cleft, pass between hills, gorge', in the *Etymologies*, stem KIL (V.365). The form in AAm, *Kalakiryan*, replaced earlier *Kalakirya* (note 7 above).

'The Elves took possession of Eldamar, and began the building of the green hill of Túna'; cf. also §§75–6 'the shores, coast, of Eldamar'. This contradicts the footnote to QS §39 (never subsequently changed, p. 176), where *Eldamar* is a name of the Elvish city itself and *Eldanor* or *Elendë* the region where the Elves dwelt (earlier, on the *Ambarkanta* map (IV.249), Elvenhome was named *Eldaros)*. The usage here (found also in the rewritten *Lay of Leithian*) is in fact a reversion to the earliest meaning of *Eldamar*; see I.251.

The city is now Tirion upon Túna, not Túna upon Kôr; see QS §39 and commentary, and also 1.258 (*Kortirion*). But my father continued to use *Túna* also as the name of the city: e.g. p. 97, §101, where Melkor speaks of Fëanor's words 'in Túna'. Tirion is called here *Tirion the Hallowed*, as it was in Bilbo's song at Rivendell (VII.93, 98, 101).

§68 The Tower of Ingwë (*Ingwemindon* in QS) is now *Mindon*

Eldaliéva. — In AAm Ingwë and 'many of his household' removed from Tirion only seven Valian Years after the coming of the Vanyar and the Noldor to Aman, and in the year of the completion of Tirion and the kindling of Ingwë's lamp; and the departure of the rest of the Vanyar is represented as a long drawn out movement over 25 Valian Years (see §77). In QS (§45) a different impression is given, for it is said that '*As the ages passed* the Lindar grew to love the land of the Gods and the full light of the Trees, and they forsook the city of Túna'.

§69 In QS (§16) *Galathilion* is the Gnomish name of Silpion (Telperion), and there is no mention of an 'image' of the Elder Tree being given by Yavanna to the Noldor of Tirion (see IX.58).

§70 Ulmo's return to the shores of Middle-earth was on account of the prayers of Finwë. The statement that Ossë 'came seldom to Aman, unless summoned to council' reflects the preservation in AAm (p. 48, §1) of his old status as one of the Valar. The southern Haven of the Falas now reverts to the form *Eglarest*, which preceded *Eglorest* of QS and AV 2. Cirdan the Shipwright, lord of the Havens, appears from *The Lord of the Rings*.

§71 While it is not said in QS that any others of the Teleri, beside the Elves of the Falas, remained in Middle-earth when Ulmo returned, but only that the people of Thingol 'looked for him in vain' (§32), it is told in the *Lhammas* §6 (V.174) that Thingol was 'king in Beleriand of the many Teleri who … remained on the Falassë, and of others that went not because they tarried searching for Thingol in the woods.' In AAm 'the kinsfolk and friends of Elwë also were unwilling to depart', and they were left behind, and called themselves *Eglath*, the Forsaken People.

§§72–3 Ulmo granted readily the request of the Teleri, for he had opposed the summoning of the Quendi to Valinor, and Ossë rooted Tol Eressëa to the sea-bottom at Ulmo's command; but the Valar were displeased, and Finwë was grieved (most of all for the knowledge that Elwë Singollo his friend was not in Tol Eressëa). The final form of the legend is thus now present: see QS §37 and commentary.

§74 Thingol's people were 'all the Eldar of Beleriand', and they were named the *Sindar*, the Grey-elves. This is the first time that we

meet the name in the texts (as here presented); it does not occur in *The Lord of the Rings* apart from the Appendices. The Sindarin name of Elwë Singollo is *Elu Thingol* (see II.50).

§75 The Teleri dwelt for 100 years of the Sun in Tol Eressëa; in QS (§43) and in AV 2 they dwelt there for 100 Valian Years (see p. 183, §43).

It was Ossë, not as in QS Ulmo, who taught the Teleri the craft of shipbuilding; but as the text was written (note 8 above) it was Ulmo who did so, and it was Ulmo too who gave them the swans (Ossë in QS).

§76 The Teleri had the aid of Finwë and the Noldor in the building of Alqualondë.

The two passages concerning Indis wife of Finwë, roughly written in against §§60 and 61 (notes 3 and 5 above) and then struck out, are notable as the first indications of what would become a major further development in the Valinorian legend, though the stories told here bear no relation to the later narrative. These briefly sketched ideas may have been merely passing, rejected as soon as jotted down; but they show my father's concern with Fëanor, feeling that the greatness of his powers and formidable nature were related to a singularity of origin — he was *the first-born of the Eldar*: that is to say, he did not 'waken' by Kuiviénen, but had a father and mother, and was born in Middle-earth. The idea that Finwë was bereaved also appears; and this is the first appearance of Fëanor's name *Curufinwë*.

★

Finally, I record a few very late notes on one or other of the typescript texts (top copy and carbon) of the *Annals of Aman:*

§65 'the trees of Nan Elmoth' > 'the sapling trees of Nan Elmoth'

§66 Against the word 'conches': 'pipes of shell horns', with a query.

§70 Against the first sentence my father wrote 'Needs revising'; but I do not know in what respect he intended to do so. Against 'summoned to council' he wrote an X and 'he [Ossë] was not a Vala, but a chief of the Maiar, servant of Ulmo.' He had been removed from the Valar by emendation to the typescript in §1 (p. 69).

Fourth section of the Annals of Aman

[This section of the *Annals* has a good many changes made at the time of writing, and also various alterations and additions — some substantial — that seem certainly to belong to much the same time. These are incorporated into the text given here, with details of the more important alterations recorded in the notes that follow it. A few short additions that are decidedly later are placed in the notes.]

1179

§78Fëanor, eldest son of Finwë, was born in Tirion upon Túna. His mother was Byrde Míriel.[1]

§79Now the Noldor[2] took delight in all lore and all crafts, and Aulë and his folk came often among them. Yet such skill had Ilúvatar granted to them that in many matters, especially such as needed adroitness and fineness of handiwork, they soon surpassed their teachers. It is said that about this time the masons of the House of Finwë quarrying in the mountains for stone for their building (for they delighted in the building of high towers) first discovered the earth-gems, in which the Land of Aman was indeed surpassingly rich. And their craftsmen devised tools for the cutting and shaping of the gems, and carved them in many forms of bright beauty; and they hoarded them not but gave them freely to all who desired them, and all Valinor was enriched by their labour.[3]

§80In this year Rúmil, most renowned of the masters of the lore of speech, first devised letters and began recording in writing the tongues of the Eldar and their songs and wisdom.[4]

1190

§81In this year was born Fingolfin son of Finwë, who after was King of the Exiles.

1230

§82Finrod Finwë's son was born.

1250

§83In this time began the flowering of the skill of Fëanor son of Finwë, who was of all the Noldor the greatest maker and craftsman. And he took thought and devised new letters, bettering the devices of Rúmil, and those letters the Eldar have used ever since that day. This was but the beginning of the works of Fëanor. Greatly he loved gems, and he began to study how by the skill of his hand and mind he could make others greater and brighter than those hidden in the earth.5

§84[In this time also, it is said among the Sindar, the Naugrim6 whom we also name the Nornwaith (the Dwarves) came over the mountains into Beleriand and became known to the Elves. Now the Dwarves were great smiths and masons, being indeed (it is believed) brought into being by Aulë; yet of old small beauty was in their works. Therefore each people had great profit of the other, though their friendship was ever cool. But at that time no griefs lay between them, and King Thingol welcomed them; and the Longbeards of Belegost aided him in the delving and building of the great halls of Menegroth, where he after dwelt with Melian, his Queen. Thus saith Pengoloð.]7

1280

§85In this year Finrod Finwë's son wedded Ëarwen King Olwë's daughter of Alqualondë, and there was a great feast in the land of the Teleri. Thus the children of Finrod, Inglor and Galadriel, were the kin of King Thingol Greymantle in Beleriand.

1350

§86[At this time a part of the lost Elves of the people of Dân after long wanderings came up into Beleriand from the South. Their leader was Denethor son of Dân, and he brought them to Ossiriand where seven rivers flow down from the Mountains of Lindon. These are the Green-elves. They had the friendship of Thingol. Quoth Pengoloð.]8

1400

§87Now it came to pass that Melkor had dwelt alone in the duress of Mandos for the three ages that were doomed by the Valar, and he came before their conclave to be tried. And Melkor sued for

pardon at the feet of Manwë, and humbled himself, and swore to abide his rule, and to aid the Valar in all ways that he could, for the good of Arda, and the profit of Valar and of Eldar, if so he should be granted freedom, and a place as the least of all the folk of Valinor.

§88And Niënna aided his prayer (because of her kinship), and Manwë granted it, for being himself free of all evil he saw not the depths of the heart of Melkor, and believed in his oaths. But Mandos was silent, and Ulmo's heart misgave him.

1410

§89Then Melkor dwelt for a while in a humble house in Valmar under vigilance, and was not yet suffered to walk abroad alone. But since in that time all his words and works were fair, and he became in outward form and seeming even as the Valar his brethren, Manwë gave him his freedom within Valinor. Yet Tulkas' mirth was clouded whenever he saw Melkor pass by, and the nails of his fingers bit into the palms of his hands, for the restraint that he put upon himself.

§90And indeed Melkor was false and betrayed the clemency of Manwë, and used his freedom to spread lies abroad and poison the peace of Valinor. Thus a shadow fell upon the Blessed Land and its golden Noon passed; yet it was long ere the lies of Melkor bore fruit, and still the Valar dwelt long in bliss.

§91Now in his heart Melkor most hated the Eldar, both because they were fair and joyful and because in them he saw the reason for the arising of the Valar and his own downfall and subjection. Therefore all the more did he feign love for them, and sought their friendship, and offered them the service of his lore and labour in any great deed that they would do. And many of the Noldor, because of their desire of all knowledge, hearkened to him and took delight in his teaching. But the Vanyar would have no part with him.

1449

§92In this Year Fëanor began that labour of his which is renowned above all the works of the Eldalië; for his heart conceived the Silmarils, and he made much study and many essays ere their fashioning could begin. And though Melkor said after that Fëanor

had his instruction in that work, he lied in his lust and his envy; for Fëanor was driven by the fire of his own heart only, and was eager and proud, working ever swiftly and alone, asking no aid and brooking no counsel.

1450

The Silmarilli of Fëanor are made

§93In this year the Silmarils were full-wrought, the wonder of Arda. As three great jewels they were in form. But not until the End, when Fëanor shall return who perished when the Sun was young and sitteth now in the Halls of Awaiting and comes no more amongst his kin; not until Sun passeth and the Moon falls shall it be known of what substance they were made. Like the crystal of diamonds it appeared and yet was more strong than adamant, so that no violence within the walls of this world could mar it or break it. Yet that crystal was to the Silmarils but as is the body to the Children of Ilúvatar: the house of its inner fire, that is within it and yet in all parts of it, and is its life. And the inner fire of the Silmarils Fëanor made of the blended Light of the Trees of Valinor which lives in them yet, though the Trees have long withered and shine no more. Therefore even in the uttermost darkness the Silmarils of their own radiance shone like the stars of Varda; and yet, as were they indeed living things, they rejoiced in light and received it, and gave it back in hues more lovely than before.

§94And all the folk of Valinor were amazed at the handiwork of Fëanor, and were filled with wonder and delight, and Varda hallowed the Silmarils, so that thereafter no mortal flesh nor any evil or unclean thing might touch them, but it was scorched and burned with unendurable pain. And Melkor lusted for the Silmarils and the very memory of their radiance was like a gnawing fire in his heart.9

1450–1490

§95Therefore, though he still dissembled his purposes with great cunning, Melkor sought now ever more eagerly how he should destroy Fëanor, and end the friendship of Valar and Eldar. Long was he at work; and slow at first and barren was his labour. But he that sows lies in the end shall not lack of a harvest, and soon he may

rest from toil indeed, while others reap and sow in his stead. Ever Melkor found some ears that would heed him, and some tongues that would enlarge what they had heard. For the lies of Melkor take root by the truth that is in them.

§96Thus it was that whispers arose in Eldamar that the Valar had brought the Eldar to Valinor being jealous of their beauty and skill, and fearing that they should grow too strong to be governed in the free lands of the East. And then Melkor foretold the coming of Men, of which the Valar had not yet spoken to the Elves, and again it was whispered abroad that the gods purposed to reserve the kingdoms of Middle-earth for the younger and weaker race whom they might more easily sway, defrauding the Elves of the inheritance of Ilúvatar.

§97Then at last the princes of the Noldor began to murmur against the Valar, and many became filled with pride, forgetting all that the Valar had taught to them and given to them. And in that time (having now awakened anger and pride) Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known; for the armouries of the Valar after the chaining of Melkor were shut. But now the Noldor began the smithying of swords and axes and spears; and shields they made displaying the tokens of many houses and kindreds that vied one with another.

§98A great smith was Fëanor in those days, and a proud and masterful prince, jealous of all that he had; and Melkor kept watch on him. For still he lusted after the Silmarils; but Fëanor now brought them seldom to light, and kept them locked rather in the darkness of the treasury of Túna; and he began to begrudge the sight of them to all save to his sire and to his seven sons. Therefore Melkor set new lies abroad that Fingolfin was plotting to supplant Fëanor and his father in the favour of the Valar, and was like to succeed, for the Valar were ill-pleased that the Silmarils were not committed to their keeping. Of those lies quarrels arose among the proud children of Finwë and Melkor was well-pleased; for all now went to his design. And suddenly ere the Valar were aware the peace of Valinor was broken and swords were drawn in Eldamar.

1490

§99Then the Gods were wroth, and they summoned Fëanor before them. And they laid bare all the lies of Melkor; but because it

was Fëanor that had first broken the peace and threatened violence in Aman he was by their judgement banished for twenty[10] years from Tirion. And he went forth and dwelt northward in Valinor near to the halls of Mandos, and built a new treasury and stronghold at Formenos; and great wealth of gems he laid there in hoard, but the Silmarils were shut in a chamber of iron. And thither came Finwë, because of the love that he bore to Fëanor; and Fingolfin ruled the Noldor of Túna. Thus the lies of Melkor were made true in seeming, and the bitterness that he had wrought endured long between the sons of Fingolfin and Fëanor.

§100Straight from the Ring of Doom Tulkas went in haste to lay hands upon Melkor, but Melkor knowing that his devices were bewrayed[11] had hidden himself from the sight of eyes, and a cloud was about him; and it seemed to the folk of Valinor that the light of the Trees was become dimmer than its wont, and the shadows were darker and longer.

1492

§101And it is said that Melkor was not seen again for a while; but suddenly he appeared before the doors of the house of Finwë and Fëanor at Formenos, and sought to speak with them. And he said to them: 'Behold the truth of all that I have spoken, and how you are indeed banished unjustly. And think not that the Silmarils lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the gods. But if the heart of Fëanor is yet free and bold as his words were in Túna, then I will aid you, and bring you far from this narrow land. For am I not Vala as are they? Yea, and more than they, and have ever been a friend to the Noldor, most skilled and valiant of all the folk of Arda.'

§102Then the heart of Fëanor was increased in bitterness and filled with fear for the Silmarils, and in that mood he endured. But Melkor's words touched too deep, and awoke a fire more fierce than he intended; and Fëanor looked upon him with blazing eyes, and lo! he saw through the semblance of Melkor and pierced the cloaks of his mind, perceiving there the lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame all fear and he cursed Melkor and bade him begone. 'Get thee from my gate, thou gangrel,[12] jail-crow of Mandos,' said he, and he shut the doors of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa.

§103And at that time, being himself in peril, Melkor departed,

consumed with wrath, and bitter vengeance he plotted for his shame. But Finwë was filled with great fear, and in haste he sent messengers to Manwë in Valmar.

§104Then Oromë and Tulkas set out in pursuit of Melkor, but ere they had ridden far messengers came from Eldamar, telling that Melkor had fled through the Kalakiryan,[13] passing by the hill of Túna in wrath as a thunder cloud. And with the flight of Melkor the shadow was lifted from Valinor, and for a while all the land was fair again. But the gods sought in vain for tidings of their enemy, and doubt lay heavy upon their hearts what new evil he might attempt.

§105It is told that Melkor came to the dark region of Arvalin. Now that narrow land lay south of the Bay of Eldamar, but east of the mountains of the Pelóri, and its long and mournful shores stretched away into the South of the world, lightless and unexplored. There, between the sheer walls of the mountains and the cold dark Sea, the shadows were deepest in the world. And there secretly Ungoliantë had made her abode. Whence she came none of the Eldar know, but maybe she came to the South out of the darkness of Ëa, in that time when Melkor destroyed the lights of Illuin and Ormal, and because of his dwelling in the North the heed of the Valar was turned most thither and the South was long forgotten. Thence she crept towards the realm of the light of the Valar. For she hungered for light and hated it. In a deep cleft of the mountains she dwelt, and took shape as it were a spider of monstrous form, sucking up all such light as she could find, or that strayed over the walls of Valinor, and she spun it forth again in black webs of strangling gloom, until no light more could come to her abode, and she was famished.

§106It may well be that Melkor, if none other, knew of her being and her abode, and that she was in the beginning one of those that he had corrupted to his service. And coming at length to Arvalin, he sought her out, and demanded her aid in his revenge. But she was loath to dare the perils of Valinor and the great wrath of the gods, and would not stir from her hiding until Melkor had vowed to render her a reward that should heal the gnawing of her hunger and hatred.

§107At last having well laid their plans Melkor and Ungoliantë set forth. A great darkness was about them that Ungoliantë wove, and black ropes also she span and made fast among the rocks, and so after long labour, from web to web, she climbed at last to the summit of Hyarantar, which is the highest pinnacle of the mountains south of Taniquetil. There indeed (save for that watch-tower of the South) the Pelóri were less lofty, and less was the vigilance of the Valar, for they had ever been on guard rather against the North.

§108Now Ungoliantë wrought a ladder of ropes and cast it down, and Melkor climbed upon it, and so came to that high place, whence he could look down upon the Guarded Realm. And below lay the wild green-wood of Oromë, and west-away shimmered the fields and pastures of Yavanna, pale gold beneath the tall wheat of the gods. But Melkor looked north, and saw afar the shining plain, and the silver domes of Valmar gleaming in the mingling of the lights of Telperion and Laurelin. Then Melkor laughed aloud, and leapt swiftly down the long western slopes; and Ungoliantë was at his side and her darkness covered them.

§109Now it was a time of festival, as Melkor well knew. For though all tides and seasons were at the will of the Valar, and there was in Valinor no winter of death, nonetheless the gods dwelt then in the kingdom of Arda, and that was but a small realm in the halls of Ëa, whose life is Time, which flows ever from the first note to the last chord of Eru. And it was then the pleasure of the Valar (as is told in the *Ainulindalë*) to clothe themselves in the forms of the Children of Ilúvatar; and they ate and they drank and gathered the fruits of Yavanna, and drew strength from the Earth which under Eru they had made.

§110Therefore Yavanna set times for the flowering and the ripening of all growing things: upspringing, blooming, and seed-time. And at each first gathering of fruits Manwë made a high-tide for the praising of Eru, and all the folk of Valinor poured forth their joy in music and song. Such now was the hour; but Manwë, hoping that indeed the shadow of Melkor was removed from the land, and fearing no worse than maybe a new war with Utumno and a new victory to end all, had decreed that this feast should be more glorious than any that had been held since the coming of the Eldar. He designed moreover to heal the evil that had arisen among the Noldor, and they all were bidden, therefore, to come to him and

mingle with the Maiar in his halls upon Taniquetil, and there put aside all the griefs that lay between their princes and forget utterly the lies of their Enemy.

§111There came the Vanyar, and there came the Noldor, and the Maiar were gathered together, and the Valar were arrayed in their beauty and majesty; and they sang before Manwë in his lofty halls, or played upon the green slopes of Taniquetil that looked west to the Trees. In that day the streets of Valmar were empty and the stairs of Túna were silent; only the Teleri beyond the mountains still sang upon the shores of the Sea, for they recked little of seasons or times, and gave no thought to the cares of the Rulers of Arda or to the shadow that had fallen upon Valinor, for it had not touched them, as yet.

§112One thing only marred the design of Manwë. Fëanor indeed came, for him alone Manwë had commanded to come; but Finwë came not nor any others of the Noldor of Formenos. For said Finwë: 'While the ban lasts upon Fëanor my son, that he may not go to Túna, I hold myself unkinged, and will not meet my people, nor those that rule in my stead.' And Fëanor came not in raiment of festival, and he wore no ornament, neither silver nor gold nor any gem; and he denied the sight of the Silmarils to Eldar and Valar, and left them locked in darkness in their chamber of iron. Nonetheless, he met Fingolfin before the throne of Manwë, and was reconciled in words, and Fingolfin set at nought the unsheathing of the sword.

§113It is said that even as Fëanor and Fingolfin stood before Manwë, and it was the Mingling of the Lights and both Trees were shining and the silent city of Valmar was filled with radiance as of silver and gold, in that hour Melkor and Ungoliantë came over the plain and stood before the Green Mound. Then Melkor sprang up, and with his black spear he smote each Tree to its core, a little above the roots, and their sap poured forth, as it were their blood, and was spilled upon the ground. But Ungoliantë sucked it up, and going then from Tree to Tree she plied her foul lips to their wounds, till they were drained; and the poison that was in her passed into their tissues and withered them; and they died. And still Ungoliantë thirsted, and going to the Vats of Varda she drank them dry; but Ungoliantë belched forth black vapours as she drank, and swelled to a shape so vast and hideous that even Melkor was adread.

§114Then Darkness fell upon Valinor. Of the deeds of that day

much is said in the *Aldudénië* (the Lament for the Trees) that Elemírë of the Vanyar made and is known to all the Eldar. Yet no song or tale could hold all the grief and terror that then befell. The Light failed; and that was woe enough, but the Darkness that followed was more than loss of light. In that hour was made the Dark which seems not lack but a thing with being of its own: for it was indeed made by malice out of Light, and it had the power to pierce the eye, and to enter heart and mind, and strangle the very will.

§115Varda looked down from the Holy Mountain, and beheld the Shadow soaring up in sudden towers of gloom; Valmar had foundered in a deep sea of night. Soon Taniquetil stood alone, as a last island of light in a world that was drowned. All song ceased. There was silence in Valinor, and no sound could be heard, save only from afar there came on the wind through the pass of the mountains the wailing of the Teleri like the cold cry of gulls. For it blew chill from the East in that hour, and the vast shadows of the Sea were rolled against the walls of the shore.

§116But Manwë from his high seat looked out, and his eyes alone pierced through the gloom, and he saw afar off how a Darkness beyond dark moved north over the land, and he knew that Melkor was there. Then the pursuit was begun, and the earth shook beneath the horses of the host of Oromë, and the fire that was stricken from the hooves of Nahar was the first light that returned to Valinor. But so soon as any came up with the Cloud of Ungoliantë, the riders of the Valar were blinded and dismayed, and they were scattered, and went they knew not whither; and the sound of the Valaróma faltered and failed. And Tulkas was as a man caught in a black net at night, and he stood powerless and beat the air in vain. And when the Darkness had passed, it was too late: Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was full-wrought.

NOTES

1This annal is an early replacement; the original annal, concerning the marriage of Finrod and Ëarwen Olwë's daughter, reappears in very similar form in the manuscript as originally written under the year 1280. Later, in ball-point pen, my father changed the date of this annal to 1169, and added new annals

for 1170, 'Míriel falls asleep and passes to Mandar' (on *Mandar* see p. 205), and 1172 'Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar.' On these matters see pp. 205 ff., and see note 4 below. The new annals appear in the typescript as typed.

2The name *Noldor* is here written with a tilde, *Noldor* (representing the back nasal, the *ng* of *king*; see IV.174). This becomes the normal form in all my father's later writings, though often casually omitted (none of his typewriters possessed this sign); it is not represented in the spelling of the name *Noldor* in this book.

3The latter part of this passage, concerning gems, is very largely an addition. As first written, all that was said on the subject was:

> It is said that about this time the craftsmen of the House of Finwë (of whom Fëanor his eldest son was the most skilful) first devised gems; and all Valinor was enriched by their labour.

See note 5.

4A new annal was added here at the same time as those given in note 1: '1185 Finwë weds Indis of the Vanyar.'

5This sentence ('Greatly he loved gems …') is an addition going with the change and expansion referred to in note 3.

6*Naugrim* was written in pencil above the original reading *Nauglath* (which however was not struck out), and the word 'also' (in 'whom we also name') added at the same time.

7This Beleriandic interpolation by Pengoloð, bracketed in the original, was an addition to the manuscript; cf. note 8. Against it my father later pencilled: 'Transfer to A[nnals of] B[eleriand]'.

8This bracketed interpolation by Pengoloð was an addition to the manuscript; and like that referred to in note 7 it was marked later for transfer to the *Annals of Beleriand.* The name of the leader of the Nandor was first written *Enadar*, changed immediately to *Denethor* (the name in AV 2, QS, and the *Lhammas)*.

Later my father added here in pencil a new annal, for 1362: 'Here was born Isfin Fingolfin's daughter, the White Lady of the Noldor' (see note 9).

9A hasty addition in ink, subsequently struck out, gives an annal

for 1469: ‘Here was born the first daughter of Fingolfin, the White Lady of the Noldor’ (see note 8). It is not said elsewhere that Fingolfin had any daughter but Isfin.

10The manuscript has ‘three’ > ‘ten’ > ‘twenty’ (Valian Years).

11*bewrayed:* ‘revealed’, ‘betrayed’.

12*gangrel* (‘vagabond’) replaced *beggarman* (see p. 191).

13My father first wrote *Kalakilya*, the old form, but changed it at once to *Kalakirya*; *-n* was added later (see p. 89, §67).

Commentary on the fourth section of the Annals of Aman

This section of the *Annals* corresponds in content to QS Chapter 4 *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (V.227–31), and to AV 2 annals 2500 to the beginning of 2990 (V.113–14). The account in AAm bears no comparison with the cursory AV 2, and represents a wholly different impulse; indeed, in this section we see the annal form disappearing as a fully-fledged narrative emerges. As was often the case in my father’s work, the story took over and expanded whatever restrictions of form he had set for it. The new narrative is double the length of that in QS, to which it is closely related in structure. In expression it is almost entirely new; and yet comparison between them will show that AAm tends rather to a greater definition of the narrative than to significant change in the structure or marked new additions — though both are present. The following comments are in no way intended as an analysis of all the differences of emphasis, suggestion, and detail between AAm and QS.

§78Earlier in AAm, under the year 1115, appear rejected insertions (see p. 87, notes 3 and 5) in which are recorded the birth of Fëanor to Finwë’s wife Indis in Middle-earth in the course of the Great Journey, and her subsequent death in a fall in the Misty Mountains. Written in ball-point pen these insertions would appear to be relatively late; here on the other hand, in what seems to be an early addition (written carefully in ink, and see note 1 above), Fëanor was born in Tirion, and his mother was Míriel, called Byrde Míriel (Old English *byrde*, ‘broideress’; see pp. 185, 192). In late insertions (notes 1 and 4 above) it is recorded that in 1170 Míriel ‘fell asleep’ and passed to Mandos, and in 1185 Finwë married Indis of the Vanyar.

§79At an earlier point in QS (§40) it is said that the Noldor 'contrived the fashioning of gems'; similarly in AV 2 (V.113) they 'invented gems', and again in *Ainulindalë* B (V.162). This idea is found in all the earlier texts, going back to the elaborate account in the old tale of *The Coming of the Elves* (see I.58, 127). In the later period it survived in the final version D of the *Ainulindalë* (§35, see pp. 19 and 34), and was still present at first in AAm (see note 3 above). The rewriting of this passage rejects the idea of 'invention': the gems of the Noldor were mined in Aman.

§80The association of the Noldor with alphabetic script goes back to the *Lost Tales*, where this art is ascribed primarily to Aulë (I.58); 'in those days Aulë aided by the Gnomes contrived alphabets and scripts' (I.141). In *Ainulindalë* B (V.162) the Noldor 'added much to [Aulë's] teaching and delighted much in tongues and alphabets', and this survived in the later versions. Now Rúmil and (in §83) Fëanor emerge as the great inventors. Cf. *The Lord of the Rings*, Appendix E (II):

> The *Tengwar* … had been developed by the Noldor, the kindred of the Eldar most skilled in such matters, long before their exile. The oldest Eldarin letters, the Tengwar of Rúmil, were not used in Middle-earth. The later letters, the Tengwar of Fëanor, were largely a new invention, though they owed something to the letters of Rúmil.

If Rúmil were the author of the *Annals of Aman*, as is said in the preamble (p. 48), he is here describing himself in the words 'most renowned of the masters of the lore of speech'.

§82*Finrod:* earlier name of Finarfin (Finarphin).

§84The form *Nauglath* (see note 6, p. 102) is, curiously, a reversion to the original Gnomish name of the Dwarves in the *Lost Tales* (see I.261), although *Naugrim* occurs as an original form in QS at a later point in the narrative (§122). [The entry *Naugrim* was inadvertently dropped from the index to Vol.V. The references are 273, 277, 405.] — On the name *Sindar* see p. 91, §74.

On earlier references to the Dwarves in Beleriand see IV.336; as I noted there, the statement in the second version of the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (IV.332) that the Dwarves had 'of old' a road into Beleriand is the first sign of the later idea that the Dwarves had been active in Beleriand long

before the Return of the Noldor. But the present passage is the first reference to the Dwarves' aiding of Thingol in the delving and building of Menegroth. – The legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves is referred to in the texts of the earlier period: AB 2 (V.129), the *Lhammas* (V.178 and commentary), and QS (§123 and commentary).

§85Here appears the important development whereby the princes of the Third House of the Noldor became close kin to Thingol of Doriath (Elwë Singollo, brother of Olwë of Alqualondë, §58); and Galadriel enters from *The Lord of the Rings*. Cf. Appendix F (I, *Of the Elves):* 'The Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finrod, father of Felagund, Lord of Nargothrond' (a statement that was changed in the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings*, when Finrod had become Finarphin and Inglor had become Finrod (Felagund)).

§86In AV 2 (V.112, also in an interpolation by Pengolod) and in QS (§115) the Elves under Denethor did not come into Beleriand 'from the South', but came over the Blue Mountains; the meaning here is probably that they crossed the mountains in a region to the south of Ossiriand. There were not seven rivers flowing down from the mountains, but six: the seventh river of Ossiriand was the great river Gelion, into which the six flowed.

§88*because of her kinship:* in AAm §3 (as in AV 2 and in QS §9) Niënna was 'Manwë's sister and Melko(r)'s'. In AAm* (p. 65) she is named only Manwë's sister.

§92In AV 2 two ages passed (V.Y.2500–2700) between the making of the Silmarils and the release of Melkor; similarly in QS (§§46–7). In AAm the relation of the two is reversed, with the release of Melkor placed under Year of the Trees 1400 and the final achievement of the Silmarils under 1450.

§93With what is said here concerning the fate of Fëanor cf. QS §88: 'so fiery was his spirit that his body fell to ash as his spirit sped; and it has never again appeared upon earth nor left the realm of Mandos.'

§97On the Elves' ignorance of weapons see p. 106, §97.

§98No mention is made in QS (§52) of the dissensions reaching the point of drawn swords. In AAm §112 'Fingolfin set at nought the unsheathing of the sword'; and in the margin of the typescript text at this point my father wrote: 'refers to what?'

A later expansion of the chapter in QS, close in time to the writing of AAm, tells that Fëanor menaced Fingolfin with drawn sword (p. 189, §52); and in view of §112 it seems probable that this was inadvertently omitted here.

§99 The term of Fëanor's banishment (see note 10 above) is not stated in the older texts. — The name *Formenos* now enters, in an addition to the text.

§102 *the mightiest of all the dwellers in Ëa:* see p. 65, §2.

§105 The time of Ungoliantë's coming to Arda is placed (as a surmise) with the entry of Melkor and his host before the overthrow of the Lamps (see p. 53, §19). With 'maybe she came to the South out of the darkness of Ëa' cf. QS §55: 'from the Outer Darkness, maybe, that lies beyond the Walls of the World'.

§106 Though again put as a surmise, Ungoliantë's origin is now found in her ancient corruption by Melkor, and it is suggested that he went to Arvalin of set purpose to find her.

§107 The high mountain in the southern range of the Pelóri now receives a name, *Hyarantar* (later replaced by *Hyarmentir*, see p. 285).

§109–10 In the *Lost Tales* the occasion of the great festival was commemoration of the coming of the Eldar to Valinor (I.143), but in later texts its occasion is not specified. Now a new and remarkable account of it is given, with a reference to the passage in the *Ainulindalë* (§25) where the visible shapes taken by the Valar in Arda are described; and here the idea of these 'shapes' is extended (as it appears) to the point where the great spirits might eat, and drink, and 'draw strength from the Earth'. Wholly new also in this passage is the element of Manwë's purpose to achieve concord among the Noldor.

§112 In QS (§60) Fëanor was present at the festival on Taniquetil; now enters the story that he came alone from Formenos, being commanded so to do by Manwë, in sombre garments, that Finwë refused to come while his son lived in banishment, and that Fëanor was reconciled 'in words' with Fingolfin before Manwë's throne. At this stage, of course, Fëanor and Fingolfin were still full brothers.

§114 There is no trace of the work *Aldudénië* among my father's papers. With the passage concerning the Darkness that came with the extinction of the Light of the Trees cf. the *Ainulindalë*

§19: ‘and it seemed to [the Ainur] that in that moment they perceived a new thing, Darkness, which they had not known before, except in thought.’

§116 On Oromë’s horn *Valaróma* see *Ainulindalë* D, §34 (pp. 35 and 39).

★

There are a good many notes and changes made on the typescript, some added by the typist under my father’s direction; but only a few of them need be recorded.

§78 The two new annal entries given in note 1 above, and that in note 4, are present in the typescript as typed.

§81 After the entry for 1190 a new entry was added for the year 1200: ‘Lúthien born’ (with a query).

§84 A blank is left in the typescript where the manuscript has *Naugrim* written above *Nauglath*, possibly because the typist did not know which form to put (see note 6). The blank was not filled in, but the name *Nornwaith* that follows was struck through.

§85 After the annal for 1280 the following Beleriandic entries were added:

1300 Daeron, loremaster of Thingol, contrives the Runes.
Turgon, son of Fingolfin, and Inglor, son of Finrod, born.
1320 Orcs first appear in Beleriand.

§86 After the annal for 1350 two entries were added:

1362 Galadriel, daughter of Finrod, born in Eldamar.
Isfin, White Lady of the Noldor, born in Tirion.

The second of these appears also as a pencilled addition to the manuscript (note 8).

§97 Against the words ‘Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known’ my father wrote on the typescript: ‘No! They must have had weapons on the Great Journey.’ Cf. the passage in QS on this subject (footnote to §49): ‘The Elves had before possessed only weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows.’

§99 The term of Fëanor’s banishment was changed yet again (see note 10), from ‘twenty’ to ‘twelve’.

§113 After ‘the Green Mound’ was added: ‘of Ezellohar’. This name was added to the typescript at earlier occurrences: p. 69, §25.

— ‘The Vats of Varda’ become ‘The Wells of Varda’; see p. 69, §28.

§114The typist misread *Elemírë*, and my father corrected the error to the form *Elemmírë*.

I do not know what intention lay behind the introduction of the Beleriandic entries given under §§81, 85 above.

Fifth section of the Annals of Aman

§117Thus it came to pass that after a while a great concourse of folk was gathered about the Ring of Doom; and the gods sat in shadow, for it was night. But now night only as it may be in some land of the world, when the stars peer fitfully through the wrack of great clouds, and cold fogs drift in from a sullen shore of the sea. Then Yavanna stood upon the Green Mound, and it was bare now and black; and she gazed upon the Trees and they were both dead and dark. Then many voices were lifted in lamentation; for it seemed to those that mourned that they had drained to the dregs the cup of woe that Melkor had filled for them. But it was not so.

§118For Yavanna spoke before the Valar, saying: ‘The Light of the Trees hath gone hence, and liveth now only in the jewels of Fëanor. Foresighted was he. Lo! for those even who are mightiest there is some deed that they may accomplish once, and once only. The Light of the Trees I brought into being, and can do so never again within Ëa. Yet had I but a little of that Light, I could recall life to the Trees, ere their roots die; and then our hurt should be healed, and the malice of Melkor be confounded.’

§119And Manwë spoke, and said: ‘Hearest thou, Fëanor, the words of Yavanna? Wilt thou grant what she would ask?’

And there was a long silence, but Fëanor answered no word.

Then Tulkas cried: ‘Speak, O Noldo, yea or nay! But who shall deny Yavanna? And did not the light of the Silmarils come from her work in the beginning?’

But Aulë the Maker[1] said: ‘Be not hasty! We ask a greater thing than thou knowest. Let him have peace yet a while.’

§120But Fëanor spoke then, and cried bitterly: ‘Verily for the less even as for the greater there is some deed that he may

accomplish but once only. And in that deed his heart shall rest. Mayhap I can unlock my jewels, but never again shall I make their like; and if they be broken, then broken will be my heart, and I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru.'

§121'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they understood not his word; and again there was silence, while Fëanor brooded in the dark. And it seemed to him that he was beset in a ring of enemies, and the words of Melkor returned to him, saying that the Silmarils were not safe, if the Valar would possess them. 'And is he not Vala as are they,' said his thought, 'and understandeth their hearts? Yea, a thief shall reveal thieves.' Then he cried aloud: 'Nay, this thing I will not do of free will. But if the Valar will constrain me, then verily shall I know that Melkor is of their kindred.'

§122'Thou hast spoken,' quoth Mandos; then all sat in silence, while Niënna wept upon Korlairë and mourned for the bitterness of the world. And even as she mourned, messengers came from Formenos, and they were Noldor, and bore new tidings of evil. For they told now how a blind Darkness came northward, and in the midst walked some power for which there was no name, and the Darkness issued from it. But Melkor also was there, and he came to the house of Fëanor, and there he slew Finwë, king of the Noldor, before the doors, and spilled the first blood of the Children of Ilúvatar. For Finwë alone had not fled from the horror of the Dark. But the stronghold of Formenos Melkor had broken, and had utterly destroyed, and all the wealth of gems he had taken; and the Silmarils were gone.

§123Then Fëanor rose up and cursed Melkor, naming him *Morgoth;*[2] and he cursed also the summons of Manwë, and the hour in which he came to Taniquetil, thinking in his folly that had he been at Formenos, his strength would have availed more than to be slain also, as Melkor had hoped.[3] But now Fëanor ran from the concourse and fled into the night, as one mad both with wrath and with grief: for his father was dearer to him than the Light of Valinor or the peerless works of his hands; and who among sons, of Elves or of Men, have held their fathers of greater worth?

§124And those who beheld Fëanor depart grieved sorely for him; but Yavanna was dismayed, fearing now that the Great Darkness would swallow the last rays of Light for ever. For though the Valar did not yet understand fully what had befallen, they perceived that Melkor had called upon some aid that came from

Without. The Silmarils had passed away, and all one it may seem, therefore, whether Fëanor would have said4 yea or nay at the last; yet had he said yea at the first and so cleansed his heart ere the dread tidings came, his after deeds maybe had been other than they were. But now the doom of the Noldor drew nigh.

§125Meanwhile, it is told, Morgoth escaping from the pursuit of the Valar came to the waste-land of Araman, that northward, as Arvalin to the south, lay between the walls of the Mountains and the Great Sea. Thus he passed to the Helkaraxë where the Strait between Araman and Middle-earth is filled with grinding ice; and he crossed over and came back to the North of the world. Then so soon as they set foot there and were escaped from the land of the Valar, Ungoliantë summoned Morgoth to deliver to her her reward. The half of her fee was the sap of the Trees; the other half was to be a full share in all the jewels they should take. Morgoth yielded these grudgingly, one by one, until she had devoured all and their beauty perished from the earth, and then huger and darker grew Ungoliantë, and yet she hungered for more.

§126But Morgoth would give her no part in the Silmarils: these he named unto himself for ever. Thus there befell the first thieves' quarrel, and the fear of Yavanna came not to pass: that the Darkness should swallow the last rays of the Light. But Ungoliantë was wroth, and so great had she become that Morgoth could not master her; and she enmeshed him in her strangling webs, and his dreadful cry echoed through the world. Then there came to his aid the Balrogs, who endured still in deep places in the North where the Valar had not discovered them. With their whips of flame they smote her webs asunder, and they drove Ungoliantë away, and she went down into Beleriand and dwelt awhile beneath Ered Orgoroth in that valley which after was named Nan Dungorthin, because of the fear and horror that she bred there. But when she had healed her hurts and spawned there a foul brood she passed away out of the Northlands, and returned into the South of the world, where she abides yet for all that the Eldar have heard.

§127Then Morgoth being freed gathered again all his servants that he could find, and he delved anew his vast vaults and his dungeons in that place which the Noldor after called Angband, and above them he reared the reeking towers of Thangorodrim. There countless became the hosts of his beasts and his demons; and thence there now came forth in hosts beyond count the fell race of the

Orkor, that had grown and multiplied in the bowels of the earth like a plague. These creatures Morgoth bred in envy and mockery of the Eldar. In form[5] they were like unto the Children of Ilúvatar, yet foul to look upon; for they were bred[6] in hatred, and with hatred they were filled; and he loathed the things that he had wrought, and with loathing they served him. Their voices were as the clashing of stones, and they laughed not save only at torment and cruel deeds. The *Glamhoth*, host of tumult, the Noldor called them. (Orcs we may name them; for in days of old they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon kind, but children[7] of earth corrupted by Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war. [But indeed a darker tale some yet tell in Eressëa, saying that the Orcs were verily in their beginning of the Quendi themselves, a kindred of the Avari unhappy whom Morgoth cozened, and then made captive, and so enslaved them, and so brought them utterly to ruin.* For, saith Pengoloð, Melkor could never since the *Ainulindalë* make of his own aught that had life or the semblance of life, and still less might he do so after his treachery in Valinor and the fullness of his own corruption.][8] Quoth Ælfwine.)

§128Dark now fell the shadow on Beleriand, as elsewhere is told; but in Angband Morgoth forged for himself a great crown of iron; and he called himself King of the World.[9] In token of which he set the Silmarils in his crown. His evil hands were burned black by the touch of those hallowed jewels, and black they have been ever since; and he was never again free from the pain of the burning. The crown he never took from his head, though its weight became a weariness unto torment; and never but once only, while his realm lasted, did he depart for a while secretly from his domain in the North.[10] And once only also did he himself wield weapon, until the Last Battle. For now, more than in the days of Utumno ere his pride was humbled, his hatred devoured him, and in the domination of his servants and the inspiring of them with lust of evil, he spent his spirit. Nonetheless his majesty as one of the Valar long remained, though turned to terror, and before his face all save the mightiest sank into a dark pit of fear.

Of the Speech of Fëanor upon Túna

§129When it was known that Morgoth had escaped from Valinor

and pursuit was unavailing, the Valar remained long seated in darkness in the Ring of Doom, and the Maiar and the Vanyar stood by them and wept; but the Noldor for the most part returned sadly to Túna. Dark now was the fair city of Tirion, and fogs drifted in from the Shadowy Seas, and mantled its towers. The lamp of the Mindon burned pale in the gloom.

§130Then suddenly Fëanor appeared in the city and called on all to come to the high Court of the King upon the summit of Túna. The doom of banishment that had been laid upon him was not yet lifted, and he rebelled against the Valar. A great multitude gathered swiftly, therefore, to hear what he would say, and the hill and all the streets, and the stairs that climbed to the Court were thronged with the many torches that all bore in hand as they came.

§131Fëanor was a master of words, and his tongue had great power over hearts when he would use it. Now he was on fire, and that night he made a speech before the Noldor which they have ever remembered. Fierce and fell were his words, and filled with anger and pride; and they moved the people to madness like the fumes of hot wine. His wrath and his hate were most given to Morgoth, and yet well nigh all that he said came from the very lies of Morgoth himself. He claimed now the kingship of all the Noldor, since Finwë was dead, and he scorned the decrees of the Valar.

§132‘Why, O my people,’ he cried, ‘why should we longer serve these jealous gods, who cannot keep us, nor their own realm even, secure from their Enemy? And though he be now their foe, are not they and he of one kin? Vengeance calls me hence, but even were it otherwise, I would not dwell longer in the same land with the kin of my father’s slayer and the thief of my treasure. Yet I am not the only valiant in this valiant people. And have ye not all lost your king? And what else have ye not lost, cooped here in a narrow land between the jealous mountains and the harvestless Sea? Here once was light, that the Valar begrudged to Middle-earth, but now dark levels all. Shall we mourn here deedless for ever, a shadow-folk, mist-haunting, dropping vain tears in the salt thankless Sea? Or shall we go home? In Kuiviénen sweet ran the waters under unclouded stars, and wide lands lay about where a free folk might walk. There they lie still and await us who in our folly forsook them. Come away! Let the cowards keep this city. But by the blood of Finwë! unless I dote, if the cowards only remain, then grass will grow in the streets. Nay, rot, mildew, and toadstool.’

§133Long he spoke, and ever he urged the Noldor to follow him and by their own prowess to win freedom and great realms in the lands of the East ere it was too late; for he echoed the lies of Melkor that the Valar had cozened them and would hold them captive so that Men might rule Middle-earth; and many of the Eldar heard then for the first time of the Aftercomers. ‘Fair shall the end be,’ he cried, ‘though long and hard shall be the road! Say farewell to bondage! But say farewell also to ease! Say farewell to the weak! Say farewell to your treasures — more still shall we make! Journey light. But bring with you your swords! For we will go further than Tauros, endure longer than Tulkas: we will never turn back from pursuit. After Morgoth to the ends of the Earth! War shall he have and hatred undying. But when we have conquered and have regained the Silmarils that he stole, then behold! We, we alone, shall be the lords of the unsullied Light, and masters of the bliss and the beauty of Arda! No other race shall oust us!’11

§134Then Fëanor swore a terrible oath. Straightway his seven sons leaped to his side and each took the selfsame oath; and red as blood shone their drawn swords in the glare of the torches.

‘Be he foe or friend, be he foul or clean,
brood of Morgoth or bright Vala,
Elda or Maia or Aftercomer,
Man yet unborn upon Middle-earth,
neither law, nor love, nor league of swords,
dread nor danger, not Doom itself,
shall defend him from Fëanor, and Fëanor’s kin,
whoso hideth or hoardeth, or in hand taketh,
finding keepeth or afar casteth
a Silmaril. This swear we all:
death we will deal him ere Day’s ending,
woe unto world’s end! Our word hear thou,
Eru Allfather! To the everlasting
Darkness doom us if our deed faileth.
On the holy mountain hear in witness
and our vow remember, Manwë and Varda!’

Thus spoke Maidros and Maglor, and Celegorn, Curufin and Cranthir, Damrod and Díriel, princes of the Noldor. But by that name none should swear an oath, good or evil, nor in anger call upon such witness, and many quailed to hear the fell words. For so sworn, good or evil, an oath may not be broken, and it shall pursue oathkeeper or oathbreaker to the world’s end.

§135Fingolfin, and his son Turgon, therefore spoke against

Fëanor, and fierce words awoke, so that once again wrath came near to the edge of swords. But Finrod, who was skilled also in words, spoke softly, as his wont was, and sought to calm the Noldor, persuading them to pause and ponder ere deeds were done that could not be undone. But of his own sons Orodreth alone spoke in like manner; for Inglor was with Turgon his friend,12 whereas Galadriel, the only woman of the Noldor to stand that day tall and valiant among the contending princes, was eager to be gone. No oaths she swore, but the words of Fëanor concerning Middle-earth had kindled her heart, and she yearned to see the wide untrodden lands and to rule there a realm maybe at her own will. For youngest of the House of Finwë she came into the world west of the Sea, and knew yet nought of the unguarded lands. Of like mind was Fingon Fingolfin's son, being moved also by Fëanor's words, though he loved him little;13 and with Fingon as ever stood Angrod and Egnor, sons of Finrod. But these held their peace and spoke not against their fathers.

§136In the end after long debate Fëanor prevailed, and the greater part of the Noldor there assembled he set aflame with the desire of new things and strange countries. Therefore when Finrod spoke yet again for heed and delay, a great shout went up: 'Nay, let us be gone! Let us be gone!' And straightway Fëanor and his sons began to prepare for the marching forth.

§137Little foresight could there be for those who dared to take so dark a road. Yet all was done in over-haste; for Fëanor drove them on, fearing lest in the cooling of hearts his words should wane and other counsels yet prevail. And for all his proud words he did not forget the power of the Valar. But from Valmar no message came, and Manwë was silent. He would not yet either forbid or hinder Fëanor's purpose; for the Valar were aggrieved that they were charged with evil intent to the Eldar, or that any were held captive by them against their will. Now they watched and waited, for they did not yet believe that Fëanor could hold the host of the Noldor to his will.

§138And indeed when Fëanor began the marshalling of the Noldor for their setting out, then at once dissension arose. For though he had brought the assembly in a mind to depart, by no means all were of a mind to take Fëanor as king. Greater love was given to Fingolfin and his sons, and his household and the most part of the dwellers in Tirion refused to renounce him, if he would go

with them. Thus at the last the Noldor set forth divided in two hosts. Fëanor and his following were in the van; but the greater host came behind under Fingolfin. And he marched against his wisdom, because Fingon his son so urged him, and because he would not be sundered from his people that were eager to go, nor leave them to the rash counsels of Fëanor. With Fingolfin went Finrod also and for like reason; but most loath was he to depart.

§139It is recorded that of all the Noldor in Valinor, who were grown now to a great people, but one tithe refused to take the road: some for the love that they bore to the Valar (and to Aulë not least), some for the love of Tirion and the many things that they had made; none for fear of peril by the way. For they were indeed a valiant people.

§140But even as the trumpet sang and Fëanor issued from the gates of Tirion a messenger came at last from Manwë, saying: ‘Against the folly of Fëanor shall be set my counsel only. Go not forth! For the hour is evil, and your road leads to sorrows that ye do not foresee. No aid will the Valar lend you in this emprise; but lo! they will not hinder you; for this ye shall know: as ye came hither freely, freely shall ye depart. But thou Fëanor Finwë’s son by thine oath art exiled. The lies of Melkor thou shalt unlearn in bitterness. Vala he is, thou saist. Then thou hast sworn in vain, for none of the Valar canst thou overcome now or ever within the halls of Eä,[14] not though Eru whom thou namest had made thee thrice greater than thou art.’[15]

§141But Fëanor laughed, and spoke not to the herald, but to the Noldor, saying: ‘So! Then will this valiant people send forth the heir of their King alone into banishment with his sons only, and return to their bondage? But if any will come with me, to them I say: Is sorrow foreboded to you? Verily in Aman we have seen it. In Aman we have come through bliss to woe. The other now we will try: through sorrow to find joy. Or at the least: freedom!’

§142Then turning to the herald he cried: ‘Say this to Manwë Sulimo, High-king of Arda: If Fëanor cannot overthrow Morgoth, at least he delays not to assail him, and sits not idle in grief. And Eru, mayhap, has set in me a fire greater than thou knowest. Such hurt, at the least, will I do the Foe of the Valar that even the mighty in the Ring of Doom shall wonder to hear it. Yea, in the end they shall follow me. Farewell!’

§143In that hour the voice of Fëanor grew so great and so

potent that even the herald of the Valar bowed before him as one full-answered, and departed; and the Noldor were overruled. Therefore they continued their march; and the House of Fëanor hastened before them along the coasts of Elendë: and not once did they turn their eyes backward to Tirion upon Túna. Slower and less eagerly came the host of Fingolfin after them. Of these Fingon was the foremost; but at the rear went Finrod and Inglor, and many of the fairest and wisest of the Noldor; and often they looked behind them to see their fair city, until the lamp of the Mindon Eldaliéva was lost in the night. More than any others of the exiles they carried thence memories of the bliss that they had forsaken, and some even of the fair things that they had made there they took with them: a solace and a burden on the road.

Of the First Kin-slaying and the Doom of the Noldor

§144Now Fëanor led the Noldor northward, because his first purpose was to follow Morgoth. Moreover, Túna beneath Taniquetil was set nigh to the girdle of Arda, and there the Great Sea was immeasurably wide, whereas ever northward the sundering seas grew narrower, as the waste-land of Araman and the coasts of Middle-earth drew together. But the hosts had not gone far, ere it came to the mind of Fëanor, over late, that all these great companies, both of the full-grown and war-high and many others, and great store of goods withal, would never overcome the long leagues to the North, nor cross the seas at the last, save with the aid of ships.

§145Therefore Fëanor now resolved to persuade the Teleri, ever friends of the Noldor, to join with them; for thus he thought to diminish the wealth of Valinor yet further and to increase his own power of war. Thus also he would get ships swiftly. For it would need great time and toil to build a great fleet, even if the Noldor had skill and timber in plenty for such craft, as indeed they had not. He hastened then to Alqualondë, and spoke to the Teleri as he had spoken in Tirion.

§146But the Teleri were unmoved by aught that he could say. They were grieved indeed at the going of their kinsfolk and long friends, but would rather dissuade them than aid them; and no ship would they lend, nor help in the building, against the will of the Valar. As for themselves they desired now no other home but the

strands of Eldamar, and no other lord than Olwë, prince of Alqualondë. And he had never lent ear to Morgoth, nor welcomed him to his land, and he trusted still that Ulmo and the other great among the Valar would redress the hurts of Morgoth, and that the night would pass yet to new dawn.

§147Then Fëanor grew wroth, for he still feared delay; and he spoke hotly to Olwë. ‘Thou renouncest thy friendship, even in the hour of our need,’ said he. ‘Yet fain were ye of our aid when ye came at last to these shores, fainthearted loiterers, and wellnigh emptyhanded. In huts on the beaches would ye dwell still, had not the Noldor carved out your haven and toiled on your walls.’

§148But Olwë answered: ‘Nay, we renounce no friendship. But it may be the hard part of a friend to rebuke a friend’s folly. And when your folk welcomed us and gave us aid, otherwise then ye spoke: in the land of Aman we were to dwell for ever, as brothers whose houses stand side by side. But as for our white ships: those ye gave us not. That craft we learned not from the Noldor, but from the Lords of the Sea; and the white timbers we wrought with our own hands and the white sails were woven by our fair wives and maidens. Therefore we will neither give them nor sell them for any league or friendship. For I say to thee, Fëanor, these are to us as are the gems of the Noldor: the work of our hearts, whose like we shall not make again.’

§149Thereupon Fëanor left him, and sat beyond the walls brooding darkly, until his host was assembled. When he deemed that his strength was enough he went to the Haven of the Swans and began to man the ships that were anchored there and to take them away by force. But the Teleri withstood him stoutly, and they cast many of the Noldor into the sea. Then swords were drawn, and a bitter fight was fought upon the ships, and about the lamplit quays and piers of the Haven, and even upon the great arch of its gate. Thrice the folk of Fëanor were driven back, and many were slain upon either side; but the vanguard of the Noldor were succoured by Fingon with the foremost people of Fingolfin. These coming up found a battle joined and their own kin falling, and they rushed in ere they knew rightly the cause of the quarrel: some deemed indeed that the Teleri had sought to waylay the march of the Noldor, at the bidding of the Valar.

§150Thus at last the Teleri were overcome, and a great part of their mariners that dwelt in Alqualondë were wickedly slain. For

the Noldor were become fierce and desperate, and the Teleri had less strength, and were armed mostly with light bows only. Then the Noldor drew away their white ships, and manned their oars as best they might, and rowed them north along the coast. And Olwë called upon Ossë, but he came not; for he had been summoned to Valmar to the vigil and council of the gods; and it was not permitted by the Valar that the Flight of the Noldor should be hindered by force. But Uinen wept for the mariners of the Teleri; and the sea rose in wrath against the slayers, so that many of the ships were wrecked and those in them drowned. Of the Kin-slaying at Alqualondë more is told in that lament which is named *Noldolantë*,16 The Fall of the Noldor, which Maglor made ere he was lost.

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§151Nonetheless the greater part of the Noldor escaped, and when the storm was over they held on their course, some by ship, some by land; but the way was long and ever more evil as they went forward. After they had marched for a great while in the unmeasured night they came at length to the north of the Guarded Realm upon the borders of the empty waste of Araman, which were mountainous and cold. There they beheld suddenly a dark figure standing upon a high rock that looked down upon the shore. Some say that it was Mandos himself and no lesser herald of Manwë. And they heard a loud voice, solemn and terrible, that bade them stand and give ear.17

§152All halted and stood still, and from end to end of the hosts of the Noldor the voice was heard speaking the Prophecy of the North and the Doom of the Noldor. ‘Turn back! Turn back! Seek the pardon of the Valar lest their curse fall upon you!’ So the voice began, and many woes it foretold in dark words, which the Noldor understood not until the woes indeed after befell them. ‘Tears unnumbered ye shall shed; but if ye go further, be assured that the Valar will fence Valinor against you, and shut you out, so that not even the echo of your lamentation shall pass over the mountains.

§153‘Lo! on the House of Fëanor the wrath of the gods lieth from the West into the uttermost East, and upon all that will follow them it shall be laid also. Their Oath shall drive them, and yet betray them, and ever snatch away the very treasures that they

have sworn to pursue. To evil end shall all things turn that they begin well; and by the treason of kin unto kin, and the fear of treason, shall this come to pass. The Dispossessed shall they be for ever.

§154‘Behold! Ye have spilled the blood of your kindred unrighteously and have stained the land of Aman. For blood ye shall render blood, and beyond Aman ye shall dwell in Death’s shadow. For know now that though Eru appointed unto you to die not in Eä, and no sickness may assail you, yet slain may ye be, and slain ye shall be: by weapon and by torment and by grief; and your houseless spirits shall come then to Mandos. There long shall ye abide and yearn for your bodies and find little pity though all whom ye have slain should entreat for you. And those that endure in Middle-earth and come not to Mandos, they shall grow weary of the world as with a great burden, and shall wane, and become as shadows of regret before the younger race that cometh after. The Valar have spoken.’

§155Then many quailed. But Fëanor hardened his heart and said: ‘We have sworn, and not lightly. This Oath we will keep. And lo! we are threatened with many evils, and treason not least; but one thing is not said: that we shall suffer from cravens; from cowardice or the fear of cowardice among us. Therefore I say we will go on, and this doom I add: the deeds that we do shall be the matter of song until the last days of Arda.’ And the doom of Fëanor was true-spoken also.

§156But in that hour Finrod forsook the march, and turned back, being filled with grief, and with bitterness against the house of Fëanor, because of his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë; and many of his people went with him, retracing their steps in sorrow, until they beheld once more the far beam of the Mindon upon Túna still shining in the night, and so came at last to Valinor. There they received the pardon of the Valar, and Finrod was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm. But his sons were not with him, for they would not forsake the sons of Fingolfin; and all Fingolfin’s folk went forward still, feeling the constraint of their kinship and the will of Fëanor, and fearing to face the doom of the gods, since not all of them had been guiltless of the kinslaying at Alqualondë. Moreover Fingon and Turgon were bold and fiery of heart and loath to abandon any task to which they had put their hands until the bitter end, if bitter it must be. So the main host held

on, and swiftly the evil that was forespoken began its work.

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§157The Noldor came at last far into the North of Arda, and they saw the first teeth of the ice that floated in the sea, and knew that they were drawing nigh to the Helkaraxë. For between the West-land of Aman that in the north curved eastward and the east-shores of Endar (which is Middle-earth) that bore westward there was a narrow strait, through which the chill waters of the Encircling Sea and the waves of the Great Sea flowed together, and there were vast fogs and mists of deathly cold, and the sea-streams were filled with clashing hills of ice and the grinding of ice deep-sunken. Such was the Helkaraxë, and there none yet had dared to tread save the Valar only and Ungoliantë.

§158Therefore Fëanor halted and the Noldor debated what course they should now take. But soon they began to suffer anguish from the cold, and the clinging mists through which no gleam of star could pierce; and many of them repented of the road and began to murmur, especially those that followed Fingolfin, cursing Fëanor, and naming him as the cause of all the woes of the Eldar. But Fëanor, knowing all that was said, took counsel with his sons. Two courses only they saw to escape from Araman and come unto Endar: by the straits or by ship. But the Helkaraxë they deemed impassable, whereas the ships were too few. Many had been lost upon their long journey and there remained now not enough to bear across all the great host together; yet none were willing to abide upon the west-coast while others were ferried first: already the fear of treachery was awake among the Noldor.

§159Therefore it came into the hearts of Fëanor and his sons to seize all the ships and depart suddenly; for they had retained the mastery of the fleet since the battle of the Haven, and it was manned only by those who had fought there and were bound unto Fëanor. And lo! as though it came at his call there sprang up a wind from the north-west, and Fëanor slipped away[18] secretly with all whom he deemed true to him, and went aboard, and put out to sea, and left Fingolfin in Araman. And since the sea was there narrow, steering east and somewhat south he passed over without loss, and first of all the Noldor set foot once more upon the shores of Middle-earth. And the landing of Fëanor was at the mouth of that firth

which was called Drengist, and ran into Dor-lómin.[19]

§160But when they were landed, Maidros the eldest of his sons (and on a time a friend of Fingon ere Morgoth's lies came between) spoke to Fëanor, saying: 'Now what ships and men wilt thou spare to return, and whom shall they bear hither first? Fingon the valiant?'

§161Then Fëanor laughed as one fey, and his wrath was unleashed: 'None and none!' he cried. 'What I have left behind I count now no loss: needless baggage on the road it has proved. Let those that cursed my name, curse me still! And whine their way back to the cages of the Valar, if they can find no other! Let the ships burn!'

§162Then Maidros alone stood aside, but Fëanor and his sons set fire in the white ships of the Teleri. So in that place which was called Losgar at the outlet of the Firth of Drengist[20] ended in a great burning bright and terrible the fairest vessels that ever sailed the sea.[21] And Fingolfin and his people saw the light afar off red beneath the clouds. This was the first-fruits of the Kinslaying and the Doom of the Noldor.

§163Then Fingolfin knew that he was betrayed, and left to perish in misery or go back in shame. And his heart was bitter, but desired now as never before to come by some way into Middle-earth, and meet Fëanor again. And he and his host wandered long and wretchedly; but their valour and endurance grew greater with hardship; for they were yet a mighty folk, the elder children undying of Eru Ilúvatar, but new-come from the Blessed Realm, and not yet weary with the weariness of Earth; and the fire of their hearts was young. Therefore led by Fingolfin and his sons, and by Inglor and Galadriel the valiant and fair, they dared to pass into the untrodden North, and finding no other way they endured at last the terror of the Helkaraxë and the cruel hills of ice. Few of the deeds of the Noldor thereafter surpassed that desperate crossing in hardihood or in woe. Many there perished, and it was with a lessened host that Fingolfin set foot at last upon the Northlands of Endar. Little love for Fëanor or his sons had those that then marched behind him, and blew their trumpets in Middle-earth at the first rising of the Moon.

Here the Noldor passed out of Aman and
the Annals of Aman tell of them no more

1‘Aulë the Maker’ replaced ‘Ulmo’.

2Struck out here, probably at once: ‘(the Dark Enemy)’.

3Struck out here (later): ‘not a second time would the Black Foe of Arda be dismissed with proud words of scorn.’

4This passage is a replacement of the original text:

> but Yavanna was dismayed, for now the Light of the Trees had passed utterly into a great Darkness, which though the Valar did not yet understand they perceived that it must come from some aid that Morgoth had called from Without, and they feared that it was lost beyond the End. Therefore all was one, whether Fëanor said …

5This passage was emended from the original text, which read thus:

> There countless became the hosts of his beasts and his demons; and he brought now into being the fell race of the Orkor, and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth like a plague. These creatures Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Eldar. Therefore in form …

6‘bred’ is an emendation of ‘made’.

7‘children’ is an emendation of ‘a spawn’.

8This passage, from ‘But indeed a darker tale …’ and including the footnote, was struck out at a later time than the changes given in notes 5–7 and perhaps in revision of the text before the making of the typescript, in which it does not appear. The whole addition by Ælfwine is enclosed within brackets as originally written.

9The original text was ‘Aran Endór, King of Middle-earth.’ *Aran Endór* was then corrected to *Tarumbar*; finally the reading ‘King of the World’ was substituted.

10The text as originally written read here: ‘and never but once only did he come forth from the deeps that he had dug, while his realm lasted.’ When my father corrected this to the text printed he added all that follows to the end of the paragraph.

11In this paragraph the passage from ‘ere it was too late’ as far as ‘many of the Eldar heard then for the first time of the Aftercomers’, and the final sentence ‘No other race shall oust us’, were later additions.

12The associations of the Noldorin princes were different as this passage was first written: ‘Fingolfin and his sons Fingon and

Turgon spoke against Fëanor', and 'of [Finrod's] own sons Inglor alone spoke in like manner, for Angrod and Egnor were with Fingon, and Orodreth stood aside; whereas Galadriel…' But the changes that give the text printed appear to have been made immediately, since the passage at the end of the paragraph belongs to the original writing of the text.

13 Struck out here: 'and his sons less' (cf. the passage in §160 where Fingon's friendship with Maidros is referred to).

14 *Eä* is so spelt here, and again in §154, but in the last two occurrences in the text it is spelt *Ëa*.

15 Struck out here: 'and Melkor least of all, who is mightiest save one.'

16 The name *Noldolantë* was added in the margin. It does not appear in the typescript.

17 The page beginning here and carrying §§152–4 is much more roughly written than the rest of the manuscript, and my father struck it through and replaced it. It might be thought at first sight that this is the only place where a first draft of AAm survives, but this is not the case. The rough 'draft' page was written on the reverse of that carrying §§149–51, and that is in the same good clear script as elsewhere (with a number of changes made in the act of composition). It is plain then that the rejected page did not begin as 'rough draft' (and the handwriting bears this out), but degenerated into it; and this instance is, if anything, rather evidence against the idea of a lost first draft of the *Annals of Aman* (see p. 47).

The first text originally began, following QS §71, 'Once again he warned the Noldor to return and seek pardon, or in the end they should return at last only after bitter sorrow and woes unspeakable.' The Doom of the Noldor in the final form was in fact only changed from the draft by a rearrangement of its parts and in many details of phrasing. Two points may be noted. After '… over the mountains' at the end of §152 stood 'Ye shall be free of them and they of you'; and the sentence in §154 beginning 'There long shall ye abide …' read 'There long shall ye abide, and be not set free until those ye have slain entreat for you.'

18 This sentence replaced the following: 'Waiting then but a little for a north wind that brought a deep mist upon the host he slipped away…'

19 The last sentence of §159 was a later addition.

20 The passage 'in that place … the Firth of Drengist' was a later addition.

21 Changed from 'the fairest vessels of the Elder Days'.

Commentary on the fifth section of the Annals of Aman

This section of the *Annals* corresponds in content to QS Chapter 5 *Of the Flight of the Noldor* (V.232–8), and to AV 2 annals 2990–2994 (V.114–17). After the opening paragraphs the narrative of the *Annals* is again closely related in structure to the chapter in QS, and from §125 onwards many phrases are retained from it (more in fact than appears from the text printed, since in some cases my father adopted phrases without change from QS and then altered them). On the other hand, the narrative is greatly expanded in scope.

§§117–24 There now enters a new and subtle articulation in the story, with the assertion of Yavanna that with the holy light regained from the Silmarils she could rekindle the Trees before their roots died, the demand made upon Fëanor, and his refusal — before the news came from Formenos.

§121 Mandos said 'Not the first' because he knew that Finwë had been murdered. See further p. 127, §120.

§122 *Korlairë:* the first occurrence of this name (see p. 127, §122). — A new element in the narrative is that 'Finwë alone had not fled from the horror of the Dark.' In QS (§60) and AV 2 Morgoth slew many others beside. Where Fëanor's sons were, or where they went (for Fëanor came to the festival alone, §112), is not told (see pp. 293–4).

§123 It is now first said that it was Fëanor who named Melkor *Morgoth* ('the Dark Enemy', note 2 above). In AAm (unlike QS) *Melkor* is always so named until this point, but after this almost invariably *Morgoth*.

§125 *Araman*: QS *Eruman*. The change had appeared previously on the *Ambarkanta* map V (IV.250–1), where it was put in many years after the making of the map.

§126 In QS (§62) no more is said of Ungoliantë's fate than that the Balrogs drove her away 'into the uttermost South, where she long remained'; now appears the story that she dwelt first in Nan Dungorthin, and only afterwards, after spawning there, did she retreat into the South of the world. But the spiders of

Nan Dungorthin ‘of the fell race of Ungoliantë’ are referred to later in QS, in the story of Beren’s flight from Dorthonion (see V.299, and the published *Silmarillion* p. 164).

§127*The origin of the Orcs*. In QS (§62) the idea had already arisen that the Orcs originated in mockery of the Elves, but not yet that the Orcs were in any other way associated with them: they were a ‘creation’ of Morgoth’s own, ‘made of stone’, and he brought them into being *when he returned to Middle-earth*. As AAm was first written (see notes 5–7 above) this view still held; the word ‘made’ was still used — though not the words ‘made of stone’. But in Ælfwine’s note that follows (and which was written continuously with what precedes) they are called ‘a spawn of earth corrupted by Morgoth’; and the ‘darker tale’ told in Eressëa — that the Orcs were in their beginning enslaved and corrupted Elves (Avari) — is certainly the first appearance of this idea, contradicting what precedes, or perhaps rather at this stage presenting an alternative theory. It is ascribed to Pengoloð; and Pengoloð argues to Ælfwine that Melkor could actually *make* nothing that had life, but could only corrupt what was already living. The implication of this second theory would probably, though not necessarily, be that the Orcs came into being much earlier, before the Captivity of Melkor; and that this implication is present is suggested by the footnote reference to the *Annals of Beleriand* — meaning the last version of these Annals, the *Grey Annals*, companion to the *Annals of Aman:* ‘it is said that this he did in the Dark ere ever the Quendi were found by Oromë.’

At this point my father went back to an earlier part of AAm (p. 72, §42) and interpolated the passage ‘Yet by after-knowledge …’, where the idea of the capture of wandering Quendi in their earliest days is filled out, though it remains only a supposition of the ‘masters of lore’. Perhaps at the same time he emended the present passage, changing ‘he brought now into being’ to ‘thence there now came forth in hosts beyond count’, ‘made’ to ‘bred’, and ‘a spawn of earth’ to ‘children of earth’. He then (as I conjecture) developed the interpolation at the earlier point much more fully (§§43–5), where the idea becomes less a supposition than a certainty of history: the powerlessness of Melkor to make living things is a known fact (‘so say the wise’). Finally, at a later time (see note

8), he cut out the whole passage at the end of §127 beginning 'But indeed a darker tale some yet tell in Eressëa …' — either because he only then observed that it had been superseded by §§43–5 and was in any case not in the appropriate place, or because he rejected this theory of the origin of the Orcs. See further p. 127, §127.

The word *for* in 'Orcs we may name them; *for* in days of old they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon kind' (an observation of Ælfwine's) suggests that *Orcs* is Old English (cf. *orc-nēas* in *Beowulf* line 112), conveniently similar to the Elvish word. This would explain why Ælfwine said, in effect, 'We may call them Orcs, because they were strong and fell as demons, even though they were not in fact *demons*.' In a letter of my father's written on 25 April 1954 (*Letters* no.144) he said that the word *Orc* 'is as far as I am concerned actually derived from Old English *orc* "demon", but only because of its phonetic suitability' (and also: 'Orcs … are nowhere clearly stated to be of any particular origin. But since they are servants of the Dark Power, and later of Sauron, neither of whom could, or would, produce living things, they must be "corruptions"').

§128 The final reading here 'King of the World' (see note 9) returns to that of QS (§63), which goes back to Q (IV.93). — On the subject of Morgoth's departures from Angband QS has: 'it was never his wont to leave the deep places of his fortress', and there is no mention of his one absence.

§§132–3 The report of Fëanor's speech is greatly extended from that in QS (§§66–7).

§133 *Tauros:* Oromë; cf. QS §8: 'He is a hunter, and he loves all trees; for which reason he is called Aldaron, and by the Gnomes Tauros, the lord of forests'; also the *Etymologies*, stem TÁWAR (V.391): 'N[oldorin] *Tauros* "Forest-Dread", usual N by-name of Oromë (N Araw)'. It is notable that Fëanor should use this name (see p. 146, §8). In the typescript, for no very clear reason, the typist left a blank here, in which my father later pencilled *Oromë*.

§135 As AAm was first written (see note 12 above) the alignments of the Noldorin princes were already changed from the account in QS (§68), since Angrod and Egnor were now opposed to Fëanor — and Galadriel now has a part in the matter, being

eager to leave Aman. As rewritten, a more subtle alignment is portrayed: for Fingon now independently urges departure, and Angrod and Egnor move with him. Of Fingolfin's sons Turgon alone now supports his father, but Inglor stands with him; and Orodreth moves into Inglor's place as the only one of his sons to support Finrod.

The close friendship of Turgon with Felagund (Inglor) had appeared already in the earliest *Annals of Beleriand* (IV.296); in a late addition to the AAm typescript (p. 106, §85) they were born in the same Year of the Trees.

The statement that Galadriel, 'youngest of the House of Finwë', 'came into the world west of the Sea, and knew yet nought of the unguarded lands', is strange, because all the progeny of Finwë were born in Aman (AAm §§78, 81–2).

§136 The Noldor were moved by 'the desire of new things and strange countries'; in QS they were 'filled with desire for the Silmarils'.

§137 The march from Tirion was undertaken with too little preparation and in too great haste; cf. AV 2 (annal 2992): 'The great march of the Gnomes was long preparing.'

§139 Only one tenth of the Noldor remained behind in Tirion.

§§140–2 The words of Manwë's messenger are given, and the episode is much expanded. The herald does not say, as in QS (§68), that the Valar forbade the march, but it is now said that Fëanor had exiled himself through the very fact of his oath; and Fëanor in his reply accuses the Valar of sitting idle and making no move against Morgoth.

§143 *Elendë* (Elvenhome, Elfland): see p. 90, §67.

§§145–8 Fëanor himself (not as in QS §70 messengers) went to Olwë at Alqualondë, and their words together are fully recounted. In §147 Fëanor speaks of the building of the Haven by the Noldor, which is mentioned earlier in AAm (§76).

§§149–50 The account in AAm of the battle at Alqualondë and its aftermath follows QS §70 closely and retains much of its phrasing; but in §149 it is now told that those of the second host who joined in the battle mistook its cause.

§150 On the weapons of the Teleri see p. 106, §97. — The song of the Flight of the Gnomes (QS §70) is now called *Noldolantë*, the Fall of the Noldor, 'which Maglor made ere he was lost.'

§§152–4 The Prophecy of the North, now called 'the Prophecy of the

North and the Doom of the Noldor', is significantly developed: by the warning that such of the Noldor as may be slain afterwards shall remain long in Mandos 'yearning for their bodies', and that those who endure in Middle-earth shall grow weary of the world and shall *wane*. In this AAm looks back to AV 2 (annal 2993, V.116; almost the same in AV 1, IV.267):

> A measure of mortality should visit the Noldor, and they should be slain with weapons, and with torments, and with sorrow, and in the long end they should fade upon Middle-earth and wane before the younger race.

I have discussed these passages in IV.278–9. See further pp. 265 ff.

§156 As in AV (both texts), many of Finrod's people returned with him to Valinor; in QS (§72) only 'a few of his household' turned back. A new element in Finrod's motive for return is his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë, for his wife was Eärwen Olwë's daughter (§85).

§157 *Endar* 'Middle-earth'. The form *Endon* was used earlier in AAm of 'the midmost point' of Middle-earth (§38), where it was changed on the typescript to *Endor* (p. 80). These forms *Endon* and *Endor* had appeared in the *Ambarkanta* and maps (see p. 76, §38). In *The Lord of the Rings* Quenya *Endórë*, Sindarin *Ennor*, means not the midmost point but Middle-earth itself, and in a letter of 1967 (*Letters* no.297, p. 384) my father referred to Q. *Endor*, S. *Ennor* = Middle-earth, with the etymology *en(ed)* 'middle' and *(n)dor* 'land (mass)'; cf. also *Aran Endór* 'King of Middle-earth', note 9 above. But in the present passage the form *Endar* is perfectly clear, as also again in §§158, 163. The typist however in each case, for some reason, typed *Endor*, and my father did not alter it. On the other hand, in the title of the next section in AAm (p. 129) the typist put *Endar* as in the manuscript, and again my father let this stand. In the published *Silmarillion* (p. 89) I printed, hesitantly, the form *Endor*.

This passage concerning the Helkaraxë derives not from QS but from AV 2 (annal 2994, almost the same in AV 1), and it is very notable that it remains in complete congruence with the cosmography of the *Ambarkanta* (see IV.238, 254).

§159 The story that Angrod and Egnor came to Middle-earth in the ships with the Fëanorians is now abandoned, with the loss of

the story that they were close friends of the sons of Fëanor, and especially of Celegorn and Curufin (QS §§42, 72–3).

§160–2 Maidros takes no part in the burning of the ships, and remembers Fingon, his former friend. Fëanor's motive in this act is sufficiently explained in the older texts, but in AAm the insane pride and fury that drove him is far more strongly conveyed; he was indeed 'fey'.

§162 The addition (note 20 above) of the name *Losgar* of the place of the burning of the ships is derived from its sole occurrence in the earlier texts, at the beginning of the later *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 2, V.125 and commentary).

§163 On the difference between the final sentence from that in QS ('and came unto Beleriand at the rising of the sun') see V.239, commentary on §73.

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Among the notes and corrections written by my father on the typescript in this section of AAm, not all of which need be recorded, there are several indicating proposed extensions of the narrative.

§120 'I shall die' > 'I shall be slain'; 'first of all the Children of Eru' underlined; and a note in the margin against the words 'Not the first' (at the beginning of §121): 'X This no longer fits even the Eldar of Valinor. Finwë Fëanor's father was first to be slain of the High-elves, Míriel Fëanor's mother the first to die.' It is to be remembered that when AAm was written the history of Míriel had not yet been devised; the entries that state that Míriel 'fell asleep and passed to Mandos' and that Finwë afterwards wedded Indis (p. 101, notes 1 and 4) were later additions (found in the typescript as typed). See further pp. 268–9.

§122 The typist left a blank for *Korlairë*, which my father filled with the form *Korolairë*. Later he underlined this in pencil and wrote *Ezellohar* against it (see p. 106, §113).

§126 *Ered Orgoroth* > *Ered Gorgorath; Nan Dungorthin* > *Nan Dungortheb*. See V.298–9.

§127 Against the opening of this paragraph my father wrote: 'The making of this fortress as a guard against a landing from the West should come earlier.' See p. 156, §12.

In the typescript the passage concerning the Orcs ran as it stands in the text printed from the manuscript on p. 109 only as far as ‘they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war’; the remainder of the paragraph had been struck out in the manuscript (note 8, p. 121), apart from the words ‘Quoth Ælfwine’ at the end (which the typist did not notice and omitted, ending the paragraph at ‘weapons of war’ without closing the brackets). Against the first part of the passage my father wrote an X on the typescript and a brief illegible direction of which the first word might be ‘cut’, with a reference to the passage on the subject in §45. It is not clear what precisely was to be cut (if I read the word correctly), but seeing that he noted on the typescript against the earlier passage (p. 80, §43): ‘Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish’, it seems likely that the same objection applied here (see further pp. 408 ff.). — He rectified the typist’s error in omitting the words ‘Quoth Ælfwine’ by cutting out the words ‘(Orcs we may name them; for’, so that the text reads: ‘The *Glamhoth*, host of tumult, the Noldor called them. In days of old they were strong and fell as demons …’ This was perhaps done without consulting the manuscript.

§132 In ‘the salt thankless Sea’ the word *salt* was struck out.

§134 Marginal note against the names of the Sons of Fëanor: ‘X Names will be revised.’ In the text *Cranthir* > *Caranthir, Damrod* and *Díriel* struck out (but no other names substituted), and the *n* of *Celegorn* underlined.

§135 Marginal note against the opening of this paragraph: ‘Names and relations now altered.’ In the text *Finrod* > *Finarphin* (and subsequently), and *Inglor* > *Finrod* (and subsequently); also *Orodreth* underlined and marked with an X.

§137 Against the sentence ‘He [Manwë] would not yet either forbid or hinder Fëanor’s purpose’ is the marginal note: ‘Manwë and the Valar could not — sc. were not permitted to hinder the Noldor except by counsel — *not* by force.’

§149 Marginal note against the passage describing the involvement of the second host in the fighting: ‘Finrod and Galadriel (whose husband was of the Teleri) fought *against* Fëanor in defence of Alqualondë.’ On this see the very late note (1973) of my father’s concerning Galadriel’s conduct at the time of the rebellion of the Noldor in *Unfinished Tales*, pp. 231–2: ‘In

Fëanor's revolt that followed the Darkening of Valinor Galadriel had no part: indeed she with Celeborn fought heroically in defence of Alqualondë against the assault of the Noldor …'

§162'Fëanor and his sons set fire in' was changed to 'Fëanor caused fire to be set to'. A marginal note at the end of the paragraph reads: 'Tragedy of the burning of one of Fëanor's [*added:* 2 younger] sons, who had returned to sleep in his ship.' Another note at the same place reads: 'Fëanor's youngest sons were twins'; this is followed by a bracketed word which was struck out, probably '(unlike)'. It was said in QS (§41) that Damrod and Díriel were 'twin brethren alike in mood and face'.

§163Marginal note against 'Many there perished' (i.e. in the crossing of the Helkaraxë): 'Turgon's wife was lost and he had then only one daughter and no other heir. Turgon was nearly lost himself in attempts to rescue his wife — and he had less love for the Sons of Fëanor than any other.'

Sixth and last section of the Annals of Aman

1495–1500

Of the Moon and the Sun. The Lighting of Endar, and the Hiding of Valinor

§164It is told that the Valar sat long unmoved upon their thrones in the Ring of Doom, but they were not idle as Fëanor said in the folly of his heart. For the gods may work many things with thought rather than with hands, and without voices in silence they may hold council one with another. Thus they held vigil in the night of Valinor, and their thought passed back beyond Ëa and forth to the End; yet neither power nor wisdom assuaged their grief, and the knowing of evil in the hour of its being. Neither did they mourn more for the death of the Trees than for the marring of Fëanor: of all Melkor's works the most wicked.

§165For Fëanor was made the mightiest in all parts of body and mind: in valour, in endurance, in beauty, in understanding, in skill, in strength and subtlety alike: of all the Children of Eru, and a bright flame was in him. The works of wonder for the glory of Arda

that he might otherwise have wrought only Manwë might in some measure conceive. And the Vanyar who held vigil with the Valar have recorded that when the messengers reported to Manwë the answers of Fëanor to his heralds Manwë wept and bowed his head. But at that last word of Fëanor: that at the least the Noldor should do deeds to live in song for ever: he raised his head, as one that hears a voice afar off, and he said: ‘So shall it be! Dear-bought those songs shall be accounted, and yet shall be well-bought. For the price could be no other. Thus, even as Eru spoke to us, shall beauty not before conceived be brought into Ëa, and evil yet be good to have been.’

‘And yet remain evil,’ quoth Mandos. ‘To me shall Fëanor come soon.’

§166But when at last the Valar learned that the Noldor had indeed passed out of Aman and were come back into Middle-earth, they arose and began to set forth in deeds those counsels they had taken in thought for the redress of the evils of Melkor.

§167Then Manwë bade Yavanna and Niënna to put forth all their powers of growth and healing; and they put forth all their powers upon the Trees. But the tears of Niënna availed not to heal their mortal wounds; and for a long while Yavanna sang alone in the shadows. Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered, behold! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single fruit of gold.

§168These Yavanna took, and then the Trees died, and their lifeless stems stand yet in Valinor, a memorial of vanished joy. But the flower and fruit Yavanna gave to Aulë, and Manwë hallowed them; and Aulë and his folk made vessels to hold them and preserve their radiance, as is said in the *Narsilion,* the Song of the Sun and Moon. These vessels the gods gave to Varda, that they might become lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars, being nearer to Arda; and she gave them power to traverse the lower regions of Ilmen, and set them to voyage upon appointed courses above the girdle of the Earth from the West unto the East, and to return.

§169These things the Valar did, recalling in their twilight the darkness of the lands of Arda; and they resolved now to illumine Middle-earth and with light to hinder the deeds of Morgoth. For they remembered the Quendi, the Avari that had remained by the waters of their awakening, and did not utterly forsake the Noldor in exile; and Manwë knew also that the hour of the coming of Men

was drawn nigh.

§170Indeed it is said that, even as the Valar made war upon Melkor on behalf of the Quendi, so now for that time they forbore on behalf of the Hildi, the Aftercomers, younger children of Eru. For grievous had been the hurts of Middle-earth in the war upon Utumno, and the Valar feared lest even worse should now befall; whereas the Hildi should be mortal, and weaker than the Quendi to withstand fear and tumult. Moreover it was not revealed to Manwë where the beginning of Men should be, north, south, or east. Therefore the Valar sent forth light, but made strong the land of their dwelling.

§171Isil the Sheen the Vanyar of old named the Moon, flower of Telperion in Valinor; and Anar the Fire-golden, fruit of Laurelin, they named the Sun. But the Noldor named them Rána the wayward, and Vása the consumer; for the Sun was set as a sign for the awakening of Men and the waning of the Elves, but the Moon cherishes their memory.

§172The maiden whom the Valar chose from among the Maiar to guide the vessel of the Sun was named Arien, and he that steered the island of the Moon was Tilion.* In the days of the Trees Arien had tended the golden flowers in the gardens of Vana and refreshed them with the bright dews of Laurelin. Tilion was a young hunter of the company of Oromë, and he had a silver bow. He was a lover of silver, and when he would rest he forsook the woods of Oromë and went unto Lorien and lay adream by the pools of Estë in the flickering beams of Telperion; and he begged to be given the task of tending ever the last Flower of Silver. Arien the maiden was mightier than he, and she was chosen because she had not feared the heats of Laurelin, and was unhurt by them, being from the beginning a spirit of fire, whom nonetheless Melkor had not deceived nor drawn to his service. Fair indeed was Arien to behold, but too bright were her eyes for even the Eldar to look on, and leaving Valinor she forsook the form and raiment which, like the Valar, she had there worn, and she was as a naked flame, terrible in the fullness of her splendour.

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§173Isil was first wrought and made ready, and first rose into the realm of the stars, and was the elder of the new lights, as was

Telperion of the Trees. Then for a while the world had moonlight, and many things stirred and woke that had waited long in the sleep of Yavanna. The servants of Morgoth were amazed, but the dark-elves looked up in delight; and it is told that Fingolfin set foot upon the Northern Lands with the first moon-rise, and the shadows of his host were long and black. Tilion had traversed the heavens seven times, and was thus in the furthest East when the vessel of Arien was made ready. Then Anar arose in glory, and the snow upon the mountains glowed as with fire, and there was heard the sound of many waterfalls; but the servants of Morgoth fled to Angband and cowered in fear, and Fingolfin unfurled his banners.

§174Now Varda purposed that the two vessels should journey in Ilmen and ever be aloft, but not together: each should pass from Valinor into the East and return, the one issuing from the West as the other turned from the East. Thus the first of the new days were reckoned after the manner of the Trees from the mingling of the lights when Arien and Tilion passed in their courses, above the middle of the Earth. But Tilion was wayward and uncertain in speed, and held not to his appointed path; and he sought to come near to Arien, being drawn by the splendour of her beauty, though the flame of Anar scorched him, and the island of the Moon was darkened.

§175Because of the waywardness of Tilion, therefore, and yet more because of the prayers of Lorien and Estë, who said that sleep and rest had been banished from the Earth, and the stars were hidden, Varda changed her counsel, and allowed a time wherein the world should still have shadow and half-light. Anar rested, therefore, a while in Valinor, lying upon the cool bosom of the Outer Sea; and Evening, which was the time of the descent and resting of the Sun, was the hour of greatest light and joy in Aman. But soon the Sun was drawn down by the servants of Ulmo, and went then in haste under the Earth, and came so unseen to the East and there mounted the heaven again, lest night should be over-long and evil walk under the Moon. But by Anar the waters of the Outer Sea were made hot and glowed with coloured fire, and Valinor had light for a while after the passing of Arien. Yet as she journeyed under the Earth and drew towards the East the glow faded and Valinor was dim, and the Valar mourned then most for the death of Laurelin. At dawn the shadows of their Mountains of Defence lay heavy on the land of the Valar.

§176Varda commanded the Moon to journey in like manner, and passing under Earth to arise in the East, but only after the Sun had descended from heaven. But Tilion went with uncertain pace, as yet he goes, and was still drawn towards Arien, as he shall ever be; so that oft both may be seen above the Earth together, or at times it will chance that he comes so nigh that his shadow cuts off her brightness, and there is a darkness amid the day.

§177Therefore by the coming and going of Anar the Valar reckoned the days thereafter until the Change of the World. For Tilion tarried seldom in Valinor, but more oft would pass swiftly over the westland of Aman, over Arvalin, or Araman, or Valinor, and plunge in the chasm beyond the Outer Sea, pursuing his way alone amid the grots and caverns at the roots of Arda. There he would oft wander long, and late would return.

§178Still therefore, after the Long Night, the light of Valinor was greater and fairer than upon Middle-earth; for the Sun rested there, and the lights of heaven drew nearer to Earth in that region. But neither the Sun nor the Moon can recall the light that was of old, that came from the Trees ere they were touched by the poison of Ungoliantë. That light lives now in the Silmarils alone, and they are lost.

§179But Morgoth hated the new lights and was for a while confounded by this unlooked-for stroke of the Valar. Then he assailed Tilion, sending spirits of shadow against him, and there was strife in Ilmen beneath the paths of the stars, and Tilion was the victor: as he ever yet hath been, though still the pursuing darkness overtakes him at whiles. But Arien Morgoth feared with a great fear, and dared not to come nigh her, having indeed no longer the power. For as he grew in malice, and sent forth from himself the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of wickedness, his power passed into them and was dispersed, and he himself became ever more earth-bound, unwilling to issue from his dark strongholds. With shadow therefore he hid himself and his servants from Arien, the glance of whose eyes they could not long endure, and the lands nigh his dwelling were shrouded in fumes and great clouds.[1]

§180But seeing the assault upon Tilion the Valar were in doubt, fearing what the malice and cunning of Melkor might yet contrive against them. Being unwilling, as hath been said, yet to make war upon him in Middle-earth, they remembered nonetheless the ruin of Almaren and resolved that the like should not befall Valinor.

Therefore at this time they fortified Valinor anew; and they raised up the mountain-walls of the Pelóri to sheer and dreadful heights, east, north, and south. Their outer sides were dark and smooth, without foothold or ledge,2 and they fell in great precipices with faces hard as glass, and they rose up to towers with crowns of white ice. A sleepless watch was set upon them. No pass led through them — save only at the Kalakiryan3 wherein still stood forsaken the green hill of Túna. This pass the Valar did not close because of the Eldar that were faithful: for all those of elven-race, even the Vanyar and Ingwë their lord, must breathe at whiles the outer air and the wind that comes over the Sea from the lands of their birth; and the gods would not sunder the Teleri wholly from their kin. Therefore in the Kalakiryan they set strong towers and many sentinels; and at its issue upon the plains of Valmar a host was encamped; for the armouries of the Valar were opened, and the Maiar and the Sons of the Valar were arrayed as for war. Neither bird nor beast nor Elf nor Man, nor any other creature beside that dwelt in Middle-earth, could pass that leaguer.

§181And in that time also, which songs call *Nurtalë Valinóreva*, the Hiding of Valinor, the Enchanted Isles were set, and all the seas about them were filled with shadows and bewilderment; and these isles were strung as a net in the Shadowy Seas4 from north unto south, before Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle, is reached by one sailing west. Hardly might any vessel pass between them: for in the dangerous sounds the waves sighed for ever upon dark rocks shrouded in mist. And in the twilight a great weariness came upon mariners and a loathing of the Sea; but all that ever set foot upon the islands were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World. Thus it was that, as Mandos foretold to them in Araman, the Blessed Realm was shut against the Noldor, and of the many messengers that in after-days they sent into the West none came ever to Valinor — save one only: the mightiest mariner of song.

Here with the Hiding of Valinor
end
The Annals of Aman

NOTES

1This paragraph, from ‘Then he assailed Tilion …’, was first

written thus:

> Tilion indeed he assailed, sending dark spirits of shadow against him, which still pursue him, though ever yet Tilion has overcome them. But Arien he feared with a great fear and dared not to trouble, and neither he nor any of his creatures could look upon her, nor long endure the glance of her eyes. In shadows he hid their wickedness from her, and sent forth fumes and dark clouds, so that the lands near his dwelling were drear and shrouded in glooms, though far above bright Anar might sail in blue heaven. For as he grew in malice and let issue forth from him the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of ill-

At this point my father stopped, struck out what he had written, and replaced it with the text printed.

2 As first written this phrase read: 'without ledge or foothold even for birds', corrected immediately to the text given (QS has 'without ledge or foothold for aught save birds').

3 *Kalakiryan* was here so written (and again below); see p. 87, note 7.

4 'the Shadowy Seas' (as in QS) emended from 'the Great Sea'.

Commentary on the sixth and last section of the Annals of Aman

This account of the Making of the Sun and Moon was the last that my father wrote. He was following QS Chapter 8 *Of the Sun and Moon and the Hiding of Valinor* (V.239–43) very closely, but with many changes and notably many omissions. I indicate here most of the developments, some much more significant than others.

§164 With the silent communion of the Valar among themselves, not in QS, cf. what is said in *The Return of the King* VI.6 'Many Partings' of the speech of Celeborn and Galadriel, Gandalf and Elrond in Eregion:

> If any wanderer had chanced to pass, little would he have seen or heard, and it would have seemed to him only that he saw grey figures, carved in stone, memorials of forgotten things now lost in unpeopled lands. For they did not move or speak with mouth, looking from mind to mind; and only their shining eyes stirred and kindled as their thoughts went to and fro.

Perhaps to be compared also are Michael Ramer's remarks in

The Notion Club Papers, IX.202.

§165 The praise of Fëanor, and Manwë's thought concerning his words, are not in QS, nor the foretelling of Mandos that Fëanor will soon come to him.

§167 In QS Niënna is not named with Yavanna in the attempt to heal the Trees.

§168 The QS text 'lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars; and she gave them power to traverse the region of the stars' is changed to 'lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars, *being nearer to Arda*; and she gave them power to traverse *the lower regions* of Ilmen'. AAm here moves in fact closer to the *Ambarkanta*, where it was told (IV.237) that the Sun 'sails from East to West *through the lower Ilmen'*. I have said earlier (p. 63) that 'the testimony seems to be that in these texts [i.e. AAm and the *Ainulindalë*] the *Ambarkanta* world-image survived at least in the conception of the Outer Sea extending to the Walls of the World'; now it is seen that the region of Ilmen, in which the Sun and Moon have their courses, survived also. Is it to be understood that Ilmen was also still the region of the stars? This is not a necessary presumption from the wording of the new text at this point; however, in §173 it is said that 'Isil … rose *into the realm of the stars'*. In the *Ainulindalë* the problem has been encountered that 'the three regions of the firmament' are retained together with the irreconcilable conception of Arda as set 'in the midst of the innumerable stars' of Ëa: see p. 29.

With 'the girdle of the Earth' (not in QS) cf. AAm §144: 'Túna beneath Taniquetil was set nigh to the girdle of Arda, and there the Great Sea was immeasurably wide'.

§170 It is not said in QS that the Valar forbore to make war upon Morgoth on account of the coming of Men that was at hand, fearing great destruction and being ignorant of the place where Mankind should arise.

§171 In QS *Isil* and *Úrin* are names given by the Gods to Moon and Sun, and *Rana* and *Anar* the Eldarin names (§75 and commentary). In AAm *Isil* and *Anar* become Vanyarin names, and *Rána* and *Vása* Noldorin; so also in *The Lost Road* (V.41) and *The Notion Club Papers* (IX.306) the 'Eressëan' or 'Avallonian' (i.e. Quenya) names are *Isil* and *Anar*.

§172 One of the Old English glosses by Ælfwine, *hyrned* 'horned' of

Tilion, is found already in QS (marginal note to §75); the other word, *dægred*, of Arien, meant 'daybreak, dawn'.

It is not now said that Tilion loved Arien (and for this reason forsook the woods of Oromë and dwelt in the gardens of Lorien), though in §174 Tilion 'sought to come near to Arien, being drawn by the splendour of her beauty'. The description of the fire-spirit Arien, who ceased to clothe herself in any form but became 'as a naked flame', is not in QS; the original story of Urwendi in the *Lost Tales* may be compared (I.187).

§173 'Isil… rose into the realm of the stars': see under §168 above. The idea of the stars fleeing 'affrighted' from Tilion, who wandered from his path pursuing them, is abandoned (as is also subsequently the mythical explanation of shooting stars — stars that had fled to the roots of the Earth and now flee again from Tilion into the upper air, QS §78).

§§175–8 The account of the motions of the Sun and Moon is put entirely into the past tense, where QS uses the present.

§175 Estë takes the place of Niënna as complaining against the new lights. — The name *Vaiya* is not used of the Outer Sea in AAm.

§177 'Therefore by the coming and going of Anar the Valar reckoned the days thereafter *until the Change of the World*': there is nothing corresponding to this in QS (§78). — The passage in QS (and very similarly in the *Ambarkanta*, IV.237) concerning the coming at times of both Arien and Tilion together above Valinor is abandoned.

In QS Tilion 'plunges into the chasm between the shores of the earth and the Outer Sea', and similarly in the *Ambarkanta* he plunges into the chasm of Ilmen. In AAm, on the other hand, he would 'plunge in the chasm *beyond the Outer Sea*'. As I have said previously (IV.254, second footnote) I am at a loss to explain this, though I retained it in the published *Silmarillion* which here derives from AAm. But in view of the fact that in AAm it is said expressly (§23) that the Outer Sea encircled the Kingdom of Arda, and beyond the Outer Sea were the Walls of the Night, I am now inclined to think that the sentence in AAm was a slip, that whatever my father intended it was not what he wrote. For even if we suppose that the relations of Ilmen, the Chasm, the Outer Sea, and the

Walls were now in some way differently conceived, it remains that Tilion after plunging in the chasm *came to the roots of Arda:* he must therefore still be *within* the Outer Sea, which encompasses Arda.

§178 The idea of the storing by the Valar of the radiance of the Sun in vessels, vats, and pools (QS §79) is omitted in AAm.

The last words of this paragraph, 'and they are lost', are not in QS, but are in fact derived from the *Ainulindalë*: 'the fairest of all gems were the Silmarils, and they are lost', which first appeared in the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.58) and survived through the later texts (V.162, and in this book p. 19, §35).

§§179–80 The prophecy of the rekindling of the Trees is omitted (and this ancient feature finally lost, see IV.20, 49–50), as is the foretelling by Ulmo concerning Men; but there now appears the assault on Tilion by Morgoth, his great fear of Arien, and the account of his loss of power through dispersion among his slaves. The phrase in §179 'though still the pursuing darkness overtakes him at whiles' evidently refers to eclipses of the Moon.

The further fortification of Valinor still of course arises from the fear of the Valar of 'the might and cunning of Morgoth' (QS), but Morgoth's attack on the Moon is now the mainspring of their fear: 'But seeing the assault upon Tilion the Valar were in doubt, fearing what the malice and cunning of Melkor might yet contrive against them.'

§180 The hill of Túna is said to be forsaken; it is not said in the account of Finrod's return (§156) that he ruled thereafter in Tirion, but only (as in QS, §72) that he 'was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm.' In QS §79, however, 'the remnant of the Gnomes dwelt ever in the deep cleft of the mountains.'

'the Maiar and the Sons of the Valar': see p. 59, §4.

§181 The Hiding of Valinor is called *Nurtalë Valinóreva.* - In QS mariners who set foot upon the Enchanted Isles 'are there entrapped and wound in everlasting sleep'; in AAm they 'were there entrapped, and slept until the Change of the World.' With the reference to the Change of the World cf. under §177 above; and with the change from present to past tense cf. under §§175–8.

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My father scribbled a few hasty notes on the typescript, but those that arose from his later rejection of the essentials of the cosmogonic myth are not given here. The following may however be recorded:

§169 The words ‘utterly forsake’ were underlined, with a marginal note: ‘They *forbade* return and made it impossible for Elves or Men to reach Aman — since that experiment had proved disastrous. But they would not give the Noldor *aid* in fighting Melkor. Manwë however sent Maia spirits in Eagle form to dwell near Thangorodrim and keep watch on all that Melkor did and assist the Noldor in extreme cases. Ulmo went to Beleriand and took a secret but active part in Elvish resistance.’ On the Eagles as Maiar see pp. 409–11.

§170 Beside this paragraph (and evidently arising from the words ‘it was not revealed to Manwë where the beginning of Men should be’) my father noted on the typescript that Manwë told the other Valar that he had been visited by the mind of Eru, and warned that Men might not be taken living from Middle-earth.

§176 Against the last sentence of this paragraph my father wrote: ‘What then causes eclipses of the Moon?’ See the commentary on §§179–80 above.

PART THREE

THE LATER *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

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(I) THE FIRST PHASE

In this book, as explained in the Foreword, my account of the development of *The Silmarillion* in the years following the completion of *The Lord of the Rings* is restricted to the 'Valinorian' part of the narrative — that is to say, to the part corresponding to the *Annals of Aman*.

As with the *Annals of Valinor (Aman)* (p. 47), my father did not begin revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* as a new venture on blank sheets, but took up again the original QS manuscript and the typescript (entitled *'Eldanyárë'*) derived from it (see V.199–201) and covered them with corrections and expansions. As already seen (p. 3), he noted that the revision had reached the end of the tale of Beren and Lúthien on 10 May 1951. The chapters were very differently treated, some being much more developed than others and running to several further texts.

An amanuensis typescript was then made, providing a reasonably clear and uniform text from the now complicated and difficult materials. This was made by the same person as made the typescript of *Ainulindalë* D (p. 39) and seems to have been paginated continuously on from it. I shall call this typescript '**LQ 1**' (for 'Later Quenta 1', i.e. 'the first continuous text of the later *Quenta Silmarillion*'). It seems virtually certain that it was made in 1951(–2).

LQ 1 was corrected, at different times and to greatly varying extent. A new typescript, in top copy and carbon, was professionally made later, incorporating all the alterations made to LQ 1. This text I shall call '**LQ 2**'. In a letter to Rayner Unwin of 7 December 1957 (*Letters* no.204) my father said:

> I now see quite clearly that I must, as a necessary preliminary to 'remoulding',* get copies made of all copyable material. And I shall put that in hand as soon as possible. But I think the best way of dealing with this (at this stage, in which much of the stuff is in irreplaceable sole copies) is to install a typist in my room in college, and not let any

material out of my keeping, until it is multiplied.

It seems likely that it was soon after this that LQ 2 was made. It is noteworthy that it was typed on the same machine as was used for the typescript of the *Annals of Aman* (also extant in top copy and carbon), and both texts may well belong to the same time — say 1958. LQ 2 (like LQ 1) has naturally no textual value in itself, but it received careful emendation in Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* (thereafter, however, only scattered jottings).

Finally, my father turned to new narrative writing in the Matter of the First Age before the Hiding of Valinor. The first chapter, *Of the Valar*, much altered at this time, became separated off from the *Quenta Silmarillion* proper under the title *Valaquenta*; while the sixth chapter, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (numbered 4 in QS, V.227), and a part of the seventh, *Of the Flight of the Noldor* (numbered 5 in QS), were very greatly enlarged and gave rise to new chapters with these titles:

Of Finwë and Míriel
Of Fëanor and the Unchaining of Melkor
Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor
Of the Darkening of Valinor
Of the Rape of the Silmarils
Of the Thieves' Quarrel

This new work exemplifies the 'remoulding' to which my father looked forward in the letter to Rayner Unwin cited above. It represents (together with much other writing of a predominantly speculative nature) a second phase in his later work on *The Silmarillion*. The first phase included the new version of the *Lay of Leithian*, the later *Ainulindalë*, the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals*, the later *Tale of Tuor*, and the first wave of revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, much of this work left unfinished. The years 1953–5 saw the preparation and publication of *The Lord of the Rings*; and there seems reason to think that it was a good while yet before he turned again to *The Silmarillion*, or at least to its earlier chapters.

In these substantially rewritten chapters of the 'second phase' he was moving strongly into a new conception of the work, a new and much fuller mode of narrative — envisaging, as it appears, a thoroughgoing 're-expansion' from the still fairly condensed form (despite a good deal of enlargement in the 1951 revision) that went

back through QS and Q to the 'Sketch of the Mythology' of 1926, which had made a brief summary from the amplitude of *The Book of Lost Tales* (on this evolution see IV.76).

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory method of presentation for the later evolution of *The Silmarillion*. In the first place, the chapters must obviously be treated separately, since the extent of the later development, and the textual history, varies so widely. Equally clearly, a complete documentation of every alteration from start to finish (that is, detailing the precise sequence of change through successive texts) is out of the question. After much experimentation the plan I have followed is based on this consideration: seeing that a great deal of the development can be ascribed to a relatively short time (the '1951 revision'), it seems best to take LQ 1, marking the end of that stage, as the 'common text'. But while I print LQ 1 in full as it was typed (as far as Chapter 5: Chapters 6–8 are differently treated), I also include in the text the corrections and expansions made to it subsequently, indicated as such. This gives at once a view of the state of the work in both LQ 1, at the end of the 'first phase', and in LQ 2, at the beginning of the 'second phase' some seven years later. Beyond this, the treatment of each chapter varies according to the peculiarities of its history. The late expanded versions of certain chapters belonging to the 'second phase' are treated separately (pp. 199 ff.).

Particular difficulties are encountered in the later work on *The Silmarillion*, in that so much of the typescript material was not made by my father, and he seems often to have corrected these texts without going back to the earlier ones from which they were taken; while when there were both top copy and carbon copy he often kept them in different places (for fear of loss), and one copy is often emended differently from the other, or one is not emended when the other is. Moreover he was liable to emend a text *after* later texts had been derived from it.

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1 OF THE VALAR

In my edition of 'QS' in Volume V of this history the text of the first chapters (1, 2, 3(a), 3(b), 3(c)) is taken from the typescript which my father made from the QS manuscript in (as I have argued,

V.200) December 1937–January 1938, and which incorporated certain revisions made to the opening chapters on the manuscript. This text I will refer to as 'the QS typescript'. Both manuscript and typescript were used for the '1951 revision', but it was the latter that was the copy from which LQ 1 was made, there being some fourteen years between them. As already explained, the changes made subsequently to LQ 1 are shown as such in the text.

There is now no title-page to LQ 1 (see p. 200), which begins with Ælfwine's note (with the Old English verses) and the Translator's note in an almost exact copy of the old QS typescript (V.203–4), the only difference being *Pengoloth* for *Pengolod* (at the first occurrence changed to *Pengolodh*, representing voiced 'th'). The page, like that of the QS typescript, is headed *Eldanyarë* (History of the Elves).

The paragraph numbers are those of QS (V.204–7), with '10a' and '10b' used to indicate the passages additional to the text of QS, and belonging to different times, at the end of the chapter.

Here begins the Silmarillion or History of the Silmarils

1. Of the Valar

§1In the beginning Eru, [*added:* the One,] who in Elvish tongue is named Ilúvatar, made the Ainur of his thought; and they made a great music before him. Of this Music the World was made; for Ilúvatar made visible the song of the Ainur, and they beheld it as a light in the darkness. And many of the mightiest among them became enamoured of its beauty and of its history which they saw beginning and unfolding as in a Vision. Therefore Ilúvatar gave to their vision Being, and set it amid the Void, and the Secret Fire was sent to burn at the heart of the World.

Then those of the Ainur who would entered into the World at the beginning of Time, and behold! it was their task to achieve it and by their labour to fulfill the Vision which they had seen. Long they laboured in the regions of Ëa, which are vast beyond the thought of Elves and Men, until in the time appointed was made Arda, the Kingdom of Earth. Then they put on the raiment of Earth and descended into it and dwelt therein; and they are therein.

§2These spirits the Elves name the Valar, which is the Powers, and Men have often called them gods. Many lesser spirits of their

own kind they brought in their train, both great and small; and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongfully [*read* wrongly], for they were made before the World, whereas Elves and Men awoke first on Earth, after the coming of the Valar. Yet in the making of Elves and of Men, and in the giving to each of their especial gifts, none of the Valar had any part. Ilúvatar alone was their author; wherefore they are called the Children of Ilúvatar [> Eru].

§3The chieftains of the Valar were nine. These were the names of the Nine Gods [> gods] in the Elvish tongue as it was spoken in Valinor; though they have other or altered names in the speech of the Gnomes [> Sindar], and their names among Men are manifold: Manwë and Melkor, Ulmo, Aulë, Mandos, Lorien [> Lorion], Tulkas, Ossë, and Oromë.

§4Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar / and mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World. But Manwë is the lord of the gods, and prince of the airs and winds, and ruler of the sky. With him dwells as wife Varda the maker of the stars [> The mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World was Melkor; but Manwë was dearest to the heart of Ilúvatar and understood most clearly his purposes. He was appointed to be, in the fullness of time, the first of all kings: lord of the realm of Arda and ruler of all that dwell therein. And there his delight is in the winds of the world and in all the regions of the air. With him in Arda dwells as spouse Varda kindler of the stars], immortal lady of the heights, whose name is holy. Fionwë and Ilmarë are their son and daughter [*this sentence struck out*]. Next in might and closest in friendship to Manwë is Ulmo, lord of waters. He dwells alone in the Outer Seas, but has the government of all waters, seas, and rivers, fountains and springs, throughout the earth. Subject to him is Ossë, the master of the seas about the lands of Men; and his wife is Uinen the lady of the sea. Her hair lies spread through all the waters under skies.

§5Aulë has might but little less [> little less] than Ulmo. He is a smith and a master of crafts; and his spouse is Yavanna, the giver of fruits and lover of all things that grow. In majesty she is next to Varda, her sister, among the queens of the Valar. She is fair and tall, and often the Elves name her Palúrien, the Lady of the Wide Earth.

§6The Fanturi [> Fëanturi] were brethren, and are named Mandos and Lorien [> Lorion]. Yet these are not their right names, and are the names rather of the places of their abiding. For their

right names are seldom spoken save in secret: which are Námo and Irmo. Quoth Rúmil. Nurufantur the elder was also called, [> which are Námo and Irmo. Námo, the elder, is] the master of the houses of the dead, and the gatherer of the spirits of the slain. He forgets nothing, and knows all that shall be, save only what Ilúvatar has hidden; but he speaks only at the command of Manwë. He is the doomsman of the Valar. Vairë the weaver is his wife, who weaves all things that have been in time in her storied webs, and the halls of Mandos that ever widen as the ages pass are clothed therewith. Olofantur the younger of these brethren was also named, [> Irmo, the younger of these brethren, is] the master of visions and of dreams. His gardens in the land of the gods are the fairest of all places in the world, and filled with many spirits. Estë the pale is his wife, who walks not by day, but sleeps on an island in the dark lake of Lorien [> Lorion]. Thence her fountains bring refreshment to the folk of Valinor; yet she comes not to the councils of the Valar, and is not reckoned among their queens.

§7Strongest of limb, and greatest in deeds of prowess, is Tulkas, who is surnamed Poldórëa the Valiant. He is unclothed in his disport, which is much in wrestling; and he rides no steed, for he can outrun all things that go on feet, and he is tireless. His hair and beard are golden, and his flesh ruddy; his weapons are his hands. He recks little of either past or future, and is of small avail as a counsellor, but a hardy friend. He has great love for Fionwë, son [> Ëonwë, herald] of Manwë. His wife is Nessa, sister of Oromë; she is lissom of limb and fleet of foot, and dances in Valinor upon lawns of never-fading green.

§8Oromë is a mighty lord, and little less than Tulkas in strength, or in wrath, if he be aroused. He loved the lands of Earth, while they were still dark, and he left them unwillingly and came last to Valinor; and he comes even yet at times east over the mountains. Of old he was often seen upon the hills and plains. He is a hunter, and he loves all trees; for which reason he is called Aldaron, and by the Gnomes [> Sindar] Tauros [> Tauron], the lord of forests. He delights in horses and in hounds, and his horns are loud in the friths and woods that Yavanna planted in Valinor; but he blows them not upon the Middle-earth since the fading of the Elves, whom he loved. Vána is his wife, the ever-young, the queen of flowers, who has the beauty both of heaven and of earth upon her face and in all her works; she is the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien.

§9But mightier than she is Niënna, Manwë's sister and Melkor's. She dwells alone. Pity is in her heart, and mourning and weeping come to her; shadow is her realm and her throne hidden. For her halls are west of West, nigh to the borders of the World and Darkness [*read* the Darkness]; and she comes seldom to Valmar, the city of the gods, where all is glad. She goes rather to the halls of Mandos, which are nearer and yet more northward; and all those who go to Mandos cry to her. For she is a healer of hurts, and turns pain to medicine and sorrow to wisdom. The windows of her house look outward from the walls of the World.

§10Last do all name Melkor. But the Gnomes [> Noldor], who suffered most from his evil deeds, will not speak his name, and they call him Morgoth, the black god [> the Black Foe], and Bauglir, the Constrainer. Great might was given to him by Ilúvatar, and he was coëval with Manwë, and part he had of all the powers of the other Valar; but he turned them to evil uses. He coveted the world and all that was in it, and desired the lordship of Manwë and the realms of all the gods; and pride and jealousy and lust grew ever in his heart, till he became unlike his brethren. Wrath consumed him, and he begot violence and destruction and excess. In ice and fire was his delight. But darkness he used most in all his evil works, and turned it to fear and a name of dread among Elves and Men.

§10aThus it may be seen that there are nine Valar, and Seven queens of the Valar of no less might; for whereas Melkor and Ulmo dwell alone, so also doth Niënna, while Estë is not numbered among the Rulers. But the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda are Manwë and Melkor, Varda, Ulmo, Yavanna, Aulë, and Niënna; for though Manwë is their chief [> king], in majesty they are peers, surpassing beyond compare all others whether of the Valar and their kin, or of any other order that Ilúvatar has conceived [> caused to be].

§10b [*All the following was added to the typescript in ink:* With the Valar were other spirits whose being also began before the world: these are the *maiar*, of the same order as the Great but of less might and majesty. Among them Ëonwë the herald of Manwë, and Ilmarë handmaid of Varda were the chief. Many others there are who have no names among Elves or Men, for they appear seldom in forms visible. But great and fair was Melian of the people of Yavanna, who [*struck out:* on her behalf] tended once the gardens of Estë, ere she came to Middle-earth. And wise was Olórin, counsellor of Irmo:

secret enemy of the secret evils of Melkor, for his bright visions drove away the imaginations of darkness.

Of Melian much is later told; but of Olórin this tale does not speak. In later days he dearly loved the Children of Eru, and took pity on their sorrows. Those who hearkened to him arose from despair; and in their hearts the desire to heal and to renew awoke, and thoughts of fair things that had not yet been but might yet be made for the enrichment of Arda. Nothing he made himself and nothing he possessed, but kindled the hearts of others, and in their delight he was glad.

But not all of the *maiar* were faithful to the Valar; for some were from the beginning drawn to the power of Melkor, and others he corrupted later to his service. Sauron was the name by which the chief of these was afterwards called, but he was not alone.]

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All the changes shown in the text of LQ 1 given above were taken up into the second complete and continuous typescript LQ 2, made some seven years later (pp. 141–2), which introduced a few errors. It cannot be said when the alterations were made to LQ 1, though most of them look as if they were made at the same time.

The typescript LQ 2 was much more fully and carefully emended in this chapter than in any subsequent one, though in many cases only on one of the two copies. I give here a list of these alterations:*

§1 After 'the Secret Fire was sent to burn at the heart of the World' was added: 'and it was called Eä', with 'Let it be!' in a footnote (struck out on the top copy).

§2 'and some of these Men have confused with the Elves, but wrongfully' > 'these are the *Maiar*, whom Men have often confounded with the Elves, but wrongly' ('wrongfully' was an error on the part of the typist of LQ 1).

§3 On the form *Lorien* with short vowel see p. 56 note 2. The typist did not understand my father's corrections of the name on LQ 1, which were unclear, and typed at the three occurrences (§§3, 6) *Lorien*, *Lorin, Lorion*. At the first two my father corrected the name to *Lorinen,* but struck this out, probably at once; his final form on LQ 2 was *Lóriën* (so marked).

§4 'in all the regions of the air.' > '… air; therefore he is surnamed

Súlimo.'

The typist of LQ 2 omitted the word 'kindler' after 'Varda', so producing 'Varda of the stars'; my father changed 'stars' to 'Stars', showing that he had not observed the error.

§5In 'she [Yavanna] is next to Varda, her sister,' the words 'her sister' were struck out (cf. under §8 below).

§6The opening of the paragraph was again rewritten, to read: 'The Fëanturi were brethren, and are called most often Mandos and Lóriën. Yet these are rightly the names of the places of their abiding; for their true names are Námo and Irmo. Námo, the elder, dwells in Mandos, and is the keeper of the Houses of the Dead'

'(Vairë the weaver is his) wife' > 'spouse'

'His gardens in the land of the gods are the fairest' > 'In Lórien are his gardens in the land of the gods, and they are the fairest'

'(Estë the pale is his) wife' > 'spouse' (top copy only)

'an island in the dark lake of Lorion' > 'an island in the tree-shadowed lake of Lórellin'

§7'Poldórëa' > 'Astaldo'

'His wife is Nessa' > 'His spouse is Nessa'

§8The earlier part of this paragraph was substantially altered, but almost all of the new text appears on the carbon copy only:

> He loved the lands of Middle-earth, and he left them unwillingly and came last to Valinor; and oft of old he passed back east over the mountains, and returned with his host to the hills and plains. He is a hunter of monsters and fell beasts, and delights in horses and hounds, and all trees he loves; and Tauron the Sindar called him, the lord of the forests. The Valaróma was the name of his great horn, the sound of which was like the upgoing of the Sun in scarlet, and the sheer lightning cleaving the clouds. Above all the horns of his host it was heard in the woods that Yavanna brought forth in Valinor; for there he would train his folk and his beasts for the pursuit of the evil creatures of Melkor. But the Valaróma is blown no more upon the Middle-earth since the change of the world and the fading of the Elves, whom he loved.

'she [Vána] is the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien' > 'she is the younger sister of Yavanna' (top copy only)

§9 ‘Niënna, Manwë’s sister and Melkor’s’ > ‘sister of Námo’ (top copy only)

§10 ‘Bauglir’ > ‘Baugron’ (top copy only)

‘the lordship of Manwë’ > ‘the kingship of Manwë’ (top copy only)

§10b ‘With the Valar were other spirits’ > ‘With the Valar, as has been said, were other spirits’ (top copy only)

‘these are the *maiar*’ > ‘the *Maiar*’ (top copy only); *maiar* > *Maiar* again at end.

I have shown all these changes in unnecessary detail since they serve to indicate the nature of much of the material constituting ‘the later Silmarillion’.

Commentary on Chapter 1, ‘Of the Valar’

§1 The new opening of *The Silmarillion* came in with the first phase of the revision, and it is obvious that it followed and was dependent on the new version of the *Ainulindalë*, with its new conception of the Creation of the World:

> Ilúvatar *made visible the song of the Ainur*… [The Ainur saw the history of the World] *unfolding as in a Vision*. Therefore Ilúvatar *gave to their vision Being … it was their task to achieve it* and by their labour *to fulfill the Vision which they had seen*.

The first form of the new opening, written on the QS manuscript, had ‘Long they laboured in the regions of Aman’, using that name in the sense that it bore in the later *Ainulindalë* texts (‘the Halls of Aman’, the World); on the QS typescript (see p. 143) *Aman* was emended to *Eä* (which therefore appears in LQ 1).

§2 The name *Maiar*, introduced in the addition made at the end of LQ 1 (§10b) and appearing in this paragraph in LQ 2, is first found in the preliminary drafting for the *Annals of Aman* (*Mairi* > *Maiar*, p. 49 and note 4). See further under §10b below.

§3 The passing change of *Lorien* to *Lorion* is found also in AAm* (the second, abandoned version of the opening of AAm), p. 65, §1.

§4 On the change to LQ 1 whereby Melkor becomes ‘the mightiest of those Ainur who came into the World’ (and not possessing

only powers equal to those of Manwë) see p. 65, §2.

On the loss of the original sentence ‘Fionwë and Ilmarë are their son and daughter’, heavily inked out on LQ 1, see under §10b below. So also in the final text D of the *Ainulindalë* the reference to Fionwë and Ilmarë as the son and daughter of Manwë and Varda was strongly blacked out (p. 34, §36).

§5 On the striking out on LQ 2 of the statement that Yavanna was the sister of Varda see under §8 below.

§6 In the earliest phase of the revision a marginal note was added against the names Mandos and Lorien, which as entered on the QS typescript read:

> Yet these are not their right names, and are the names rather of the places of their abiding. For their right names are seldom spoken save in secret: which are Núr and Lís. Quoth Rúmil.

(In the *Lost Tales* Mandos is the name of the God, and also the name of his halls; it is also said (I.76) that Vefántur (Mandos) called his halls by his own name, Vê.) *Núr* and *Lís* were then corrected to *Námo* and *Irmo*. The typist of LQ 1 took this up into the body of the text, which was obviously not my father’s intention. This typist did the same elsewhere, and my father then restored the passage to its original status as a marginal note; but in this case he left it to stand, getting rid of the words ‘Quoth Rúmil’ (and of the old name *Nurufantur*; similarly with *Olofantur* subsequently).

At the foot of the page carrying this passage in the carbon copy of LQ 2 he pencilled the following (referring to the names *Námo* and *Irmo*): ‘Judgement (of what is) Desire (of what might be or should be)’.

What is said at the end of the paragraph about Estë is found in AAm (p. 49, §3), where it is also told that she was ‘the chief of the Maiar’. This was repeated in AAm* (p. 65, §3), where Nessa is added to Estë as ‘the highest among the Maiar’.

The change of ‘wife’ to ‘spouse’ was made on LQ 2 in the accounts of Vairë, Estë, and Nessa (§§6–7); in that of Vána (§8) it was merely overlooked, while Varda had become Manwë’s ‘spouse’ in a change made to LQ 1 (§4), and Yavanna was already Aulë’s ‘spouse’ in QS (§5). The same change was made on the typescript of AAm (p. 69), and its significance is

seen from the accompanying marginal comment: ‘Note that “spouse” meant only an “association”. The Valar had no bodies, but could assume shapes.’ At this time the passage in AAm concerning the Children of the Valar was removed (see under §10b below).

§8 In AAm (§133, pp. 111, 124) the form was still *Tauros* (in Fëanor’s speech on the summit of Túna), and was not corrected.

The name *Valaróma* (appearing in the expanded passage on LQ 2) occurs in AAm (p. 101, §116) and by emendation of *Rombaras* in *Ainulindalë* D (p. 35, §34).

The statement in §5 that Yavanna is the sister of Varda does not appear in QS, but it was merely derived from that in QS §8, that Vana is ‘the younger sister of Varda and Palúrien’. This goes back to Q (IV.79, 167), but no further. Varda and Yavanna were still sisters in AAm (p. 49, §3), but the idea was abandoned in corrections to LQ 2.

§9 That Niënna was the sister of Manwë and Melkor (‘brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar’) goes back to the earliest *Annals of Valinor* (IV.263), and remained in AAm (p. 49, §3; cf. p. 93, §88, where Niënna aided the prayer of Melkor for pardon ‘because of her kinship’). With the change in LQ 2 whereby she becomes ‘sister of Námo’, omitting Irmo his brother, cf. AAm* (p. 65, §3), where she is named only ‘Manwë’s sister’, omitting Melkor.

§10 The name *Baugron* (changed from *Bauglir* in LQ 2) is found nowhere else. It was not adopted in the published *Silmarillion*.

§10a The meaning of the passage is more evident from a table; the names italicised are ‘the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda’.

Manwë ……...*Varda*
Melkor
Ulmo
Aulë ……*Yavanna*
Niënna
Mandos…….. Vairë
Lorien …… (Estë)
Tulkas……Nessa
Ossë ……...Uinen
Oromë……Vána

§10bFionwë and Ilmarë were removed from §4 as the children of Manwë and Varda, and in §7 Fionwë becomes Ëonwë, 'herald of Manwë'; here Ilmarë becomes 'handmaid of Varda'. This is an aspect of an important development in the conception of the Powers of Arda, the abandonment of the old and long-rooted idea of 'the Children of the Valar, the Sons of the Valar'. It was still present in AAm (p. 49, §4), where the Valarindi, 'the offspring of the Valar', were 'numbered with' the Maiar (but in AAm* they are distinguished from the Maiar, p. 66, §4). On the typescript text of AAm the conception of the Children of the Valar was struck out (see under §6 above).

Melian is a Maia (as in AAm §40), and she is 'of the people of Yavanna' (in QS §31 'she was akin, before the World was made, unto Yavanna'). And here Olórin (Gandalf), as 'counsellor of Irmo', enters *The Silmarillion*.

In AAm (p. 52, §17) Sauron ('a great craftsman of the household of Aulë') is likewise said to have been the chief of the Maiar who turned to Melkor.

It may be that the (relatively) heavy correction carried out on the LQ 2 text of this chapter was the preliminary to its final, enlarged form called the *Valaquenta* (pp. 199 ff.).

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2 OF VALINOR AND THE TWO TREES

The textual situation in this chapter differs from that in Chapter 1, in that here, after the alterations made to the original pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts (the QS manuscript and derived QS typescript) there followed two typescripts made by my father before LQ 1 was made, and in the first of these the opening of the chapter was greatly changed from its form in QS. I shall not however distinguish the 'layers' in the textual history before the amanuensis typescript LQ 1 was reached, although some particular points are recorded in the commentary.

The further development of this chapter from QS was effectively confined to the 1951 revision, since late rewriting and expansion corresponding to the development of the *Valaquenta* out of Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* was not undertaken in this case. It is conceivable, I

think, that (while there is no evidence one way or the other) having remade Chapter 1 as the *Valaquenta* my father postponed the rewriting of Chapter 2 because his views on the treatment of the myth of the Two Trees in the light of the later cosmology were too uncertain.

There follows now the text of LQ 1, with the (very few) subsequent changes made to it shown as such. The paragraph numbers correspond to those in QS (V.208–10).

2. Of Valinor and the Two Trees

§11Now in the beginning of the Kingdom of Arda Melkor contested with his brother Manwë and the Valar for the overlordship, and all that they wrought he hindered or marred, if he might. But he fled before the onset of Tulkas, and there was peace. But since Melkor had perverted light to a destroying flame, when he was gone and his fires were subdued the Valar perceived that the Earth was dark, save for the glimmer of the innumerable stars which Varda had made in the ages unrecorded of the labours of Eä. Aulë, therefore, at the prayer of Yavanna, wrought two mighty Lamps [*added:* Illuin and Ormal] for the lighting of Arda; and the Valar set them upon lofty pillars northward and southward in Middle-earth, and in the light of the Lamps they ordered all their realm, and the desire of Yavanna had fruit, and living things came forth and grew abundantly.

In those days the dwelling of the Valar was upon an isle in a great lake in the midst of the Middle-earth that Aulë had built. There the light of the Lamps mingled and growth was swiftest and fairest; and behold! in the blending of Illuin and Ormal there came forth Greenness, and it was new; and Middle-earth rejoiced, and the Valar praised the name of Yavanna. But Melkor hearing of these works, and being filled with wrath and envy, returned secretly to Arda out of the Darkness and gathered his strength in the North, and he marred the labours of Yavanna, so that the growth of Earth was corrupted and many monstrous things were born. Then coming with war against the Valar suddenly, he cast down the Lamps, and night returned, and in the fall of the pillars of Illuin and Ormal the seas arose and many lands were drowned.

§12In the darkness and the confusion of the seas the Valar could not at that time overcome Melkor; for his strength had increased

with his malice, and he had now gathered to his service many other spirits, and many evil things also of his own making. Thus he escaped from the wrath of the Valar, and far in the North he built himself a fortress, and delved great caverns underground, and deemed that he was secure from assault for ever. But the gods removed into the uttermost West and there made their home and fortified it; and they built many mansions in that land upon the borders of the World, which is called Valinor. And Valinor was bounded upon the hither side by the Great Sea of the West,* and eastward upon its shores the Valar built the Pelóri, the Mountains of Aman, that are highest upon Earth. But on the further side lay the Outer Sea, which encircles the Kingdom of Arda, and is called by the Elves Vaiya. How wide is that sea none know but the gods, and beyond it are the Walls of the World to fence out the Void and the Eldest Darkness.

§13Now in that guarded land the Valar gathered all light and all fair things; and there are their houses, their gardens, and their towers. In the midst of the plain beyond the Mountains was the City of the Gods [> their city], Valmar the beautiful of many bells. But Manwë and Varda had halls upon the loftiest of the Mountains of Aman, whence they could look out across the Earth even into the furthest East. Taniquetil the Elves name that holy mountain, and Oiolossë Everlasting Whiteness, and Elerína [> Elerrína] Crowned with Stars, and many names beside. But the Gnomes [> Sindar] spoke of it in their later tongue as Amon Uilos.**

§14In Valinor Yavanna hallowed the mould with mighty song, and Niënna watered it with tears. In that time the gods [> Valar] were gathered together, and they sat silent upon their thrones of council in the Ring of Doom nigh unto the golden gates of Valmar the Blessed; and Yavanna Palúrien sang before them and they watched.

§15From the earth there came forth two slender shoots; and silence was over all the world in that hour, nor was there any other sound save the slow chanting of Palúrien. Under her song two fair trees uprose and grew. Of all things which the gods [> she] made they have most renown, and about their fate all the tales of the Elder World are woven. The one had leaves of dark green that beneath were as shining silver; and he bore white blossoms like unto a cherry-tree, were it surpassing great and fair; and from each of his countless flowers a dew of silver light was ever falling, but

the earth beneath was dappled with the dancing shadows of his fluttering leaves. The other bore leaves of a young green like the new-opened beech; their edges were of glittering gold. Flowers swung upon her branches like clusters of yellow flame, formed each to a glowing horn that spilled a golden rain upon the ground; and from the blossom of that tree there came forth warmth and a great light.

§16Telperion the one was called in Valinor, and Silpion, and Ninquelótë, and many names in song beside; but the Gnomes name him [> but in the Sindarin tongue he was called] Galathilion. Laurelin was the other [> the other was] called, and Malinalda, and Kulúrien, and many other names; but the Gnomes name her [> but the Sindar named her] Galadlóriel.

§17In seven hours the glory of each tree waxed to full and waned again to naught; and each awoke once more to life an hour before the other ceased to shine. Thus in Valinor twice every day there came a gentle hour of softer light when both Trees were faint and their gold and silver beams were mingled. Telperion was the elder of the Trees and came first to full stature and to bloom; and that first hour in which he shone alone, the white glimmer of a silver dawn, the gods reckoned not into the tale of hours, but named it the Opening Hour, and counted therefrom the ages of their reign in Valinor. Therefore at the sixth hour of the First Day, and of all the joyous days thereafter until the Darkening, Telperion ceased his time of flower; and at the twelfth hour Laurelin her blossoming. And each day of the gods in Valinor [> Aman] contained twelve hours, and ended with the second mingling of the lights, in which Laurelin was waning but Telperion was waxing.* And the dews of Telperion and the spilth of Laurelin Varda let hoard in great vats, like [*struck out:* unto] shining lakes, that were to all the land of the Valar as wells of water and of light.

Commentary on Chapter 2 'Of Valinor and the Two Trees'

The final typescript (LQ 2) of this chapter received very few corrections, and those only on the top copy (such as were made are recorded in the commentary that follows). Thus the LQ 1 text given above, with the corrections shown, is virtually the final text of the chapter.

§§11–12This chapter underwent little change from the text of QS

(V.208–10) apart from the greatly expanded opening – in which most of the new material derives from the later *Ainulindalë*. That the much fuller story in AAm (see p. 60, commentary on §§11–29) was written after the revision of the *Silmarillion* chapter can be seen from various points. Thus the old story that Melkor only began the delving of Utumno *after* the fall of the Lamps is still present (see p. 61, §20). The phrase in LQ §11 concerning the first star-making of Varda was first written in the form '… the ages unrecorded of the labours of the Great in Aman' (for *Aman* > *Eä* see p. 149, §1), which shows it to be earlier than the closely similar phrase in AAm (§24): 'Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa' — where it is used in a distinct context, of the darkness *after* the fall of the Lamps.

§12 The footnote to QS §12 giving the name *Utumno* of Melko's original fortress survived at first in the revised version, but was lost from one of the typescripts and not reinstated.

On the final text LQ 2 my father pencilled a hasty footnote after 'deemed that he was secure from assault for ever':

> The chief of his fortresses was at Utumno in the North of Middle-earth; but he made also a fortress and armoury not far from the northwestern shores of the Sea, to resist any assault from Aman. This was called Angband and was commanded by Sauron, lieutenant of Melkor.

In QS (§§62, 105) the story was that Morgoth, when he returned from Valinor, built Angband on the ruins of Utumno; in AAm (§127, p. 109) this may well have been still present, but the statement of QS §62 that 'Morgoth came back to his ancient habitation' is lacking. Now there enters the story that Melkor built both strongholds in the ancient days — and also that Sauron was the commander of Angband; cf. the late note written on the typescript of AAm (p. 127, §127): 'The making of this fortress [Angband] as a guard against a landing from the West should come earlier.'

The original passage in QS concerning Vaiya, the Outer Sea, beyond which 'the Walls of the World fence out the Void and the Eldest Dark', reflecting the contemporary *Ambarkanta*, survived in the revision almost unchanged, except that it is now said that none but the Valar know how wide is the Outer

Sea (in contrast to the *Ambarkanta* and its diagrams). On the great difficulty of interpreting this passage in the light of the later world-image see pp. 62–4.

On LQ 2 my father emended *Vaiya* to *Ekkaia* (whence its occurrence in the published *Silmarillion*). The Outer Sea is given no Elvish name in AAm.

§13 In the first texts of the 1951 revision the sentence 'and in the language of this island of Men *Heofonsýl* was its name among those few that ever descried it afar off' was part of the text (as it was in QS, with *Tindbrenting* for *Heofonsýl*), and the footnote began at 'Yet in error, as the Eldar teach me …' This seems the natural arrangement. The typist of LQ 1, as often elsewhere, put the footnote into the body of the text; but my father when correcting LQ 1 put the whole passage into a footnote — in contrast to what he did in a similar case in the first chapter (p. 150, §6), where he left the footnote in the text. It certainly seems clear in these cases that he did not refer back to the texts preceding LQ 1 (see p. 143). — The Old English name *Heofonsýl* 'Pillar of Heaven' occurs in *The Notion Club Papers* of the Meneltarma (IX.314).

§14 *Palúrien* > *Kementári* by a pencilled change on LQ 2. This was as it were a casual change, not made in §15 (nor in §5). *Kementári* occurs in the *Valaquenta* (p. 202).

§16 *Telperion* (not *Silpion*) is the primary name in AAm (first appearing in §5, pp. 50, 59); in the *Silmarillion* tradition it became the primary name by emendation to the first typescript text of the 1951 revision.

§17 With the reference (in the footnote on the names of the Two Trees) to *Galathilion the Less*, the White Tree of Túna, cf. AAm §69 (annal 1142, p. 85): 'In this year Yavanna gave to the Noldor the White Tree, Galathilion, image of the Tree Telperion'.

In the last sentence the word 'vats' was changed to 'wells' on LQ 2 (cf. 'mighty vats' in AAm §28, changed on the typescript to 'shining wells' (p. 69); in AAm* 'deep pools' (p. 68)).

On the carbon copy of LQ 2, which otherwise received no emendations, my father added the following note to the word *spilth* in the last sentence:

meant to indicate that Laurelin is 'founded' on the

laburnum. ‘jocund spilth of yellow fire’ Francis Thompson — who no doubt got the word from Timon of Athens (his vocabulary was largely derived from Elizabethan English)

The reference is to Francis Thompsons’s *Sister Songs*, The Proem:

Mark yonder, how the long laburnum drips
Its jocund spilth of fire, its honey of wild flame!

Cf. the original description of Laurelin in the *Lost Tales* (I.72): ‘all its boughs were hidden by long swaying clusters of gold flowers like a myriad hanging lamps of flame, and light spilled from the tips of these and splashed upon the ground with a sweet noise.’ In the earlier versions (from Q through to the first typescript of the 1951 revision) Laurelin was expressly likened to ‘those trees Men now call Golden-rain’ — that being a name of the laburnum, and the words ‘a golden rain’ are used in the final form of the passage (§15). — The reference to *Timon of Athens* is to Act II, Scene 2, ‘our vaults have wept / With drunken spilth of wine’.

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3 OF THE COMING OF THE ELVES

The textual situation here is similar to that in the previous chapter but more complicated. After very substantial revision carried out on the old pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts there followed a typescript made by my father; but after LQ 1 had been taken from it he made further changes to it (mostly very minor, but a major alteration in §20), which were ‘lost’, since LQ 2 was a straight copy of LQ 1 and he clearly never compared the texts in detail. This typescript I shall refer to for the purposes of this section as ‘Text A’. For some reason it ceases to be a typescript at the words ‘counselled the Elves to remove’ (near the end of §23), which stand at the foot of a page, and becomes a manuscript on the following page with the words ‘into the West’. The manuscript portion is in two forms, the first heavily emended, and the second written out fair.

There follows now the text of LQ 1 (the ‘lost’ alterations made to Text A are given in the commentary). The system of paragraph-numbering in this chapter, and elsewhere, needs a word of explanation. As generally, I have retained the numbers of QS,

introducing ‘sub-paragraph numbers’ (as §18a) where QS has nothing corresponding. Where the revised text expands a QS paragraph into more than one, or several (as in §§20, 23) only the first is numbered.

3. Of the Coming of the Elves

§18In all this time, since Melkor overthrew the Lamps, the Middle-earth east of the Mountains was without light. While the Lamps had shone, growth began there which now was checked, because all was again dark. But already the oldest living things had arisen: in the sea the great weeds, and on the earth the shadow of great trees; and in the valleys of the night-clad hills there were dark creatures old and strong. In those lands and forests Oromë would often hunt; and there too at times Yavanna came, singing sorrowfully; for she was grieved at the darkness of Middle-earth and ill content that it was forsaken. But the other Valar came seldom thither; and in the North Melkor built his strength, and gathered his demons about him. These were the first made of his creatures: their hearts were of fire, but they were cloaked in darkness, and terror went before them; they had whips of flame. Balrogs they were named by the Noldor in later days. And in that dark time Melkor made many other monsters of divers shapes and kinds that long troubled the world; yet the Orcs were not made until he had looked upon the Elves, and he made them in mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar. His realm spread now ever southward over the Middle-earth.

§18aIt came to pass that the Valar held council, and Yavanna spoke before them, saying: ‘Behold, ye mighty of Arda, the Vision of Eru was brief and soon taken away, so that maybe we cannot guess within a narrow count of days the hour appointed. Yet be sure of this: the hour approaches, and within this age our hope shall be revealed, and the Children shall awake. But it is not in Aman that they shall awaken. Shall we then leave the lands of their dwelling desolate and full of evil? Shall they walk in darkness while we have light? Shall they call Melkor lord while Manwë sits upon the Holy Hill?’

And Tulkas cried aloud: ‘Nay! Let us make war swiftly! Have we not rested from strife over-long, and is not our strength now renewed? Shall one alone contest with us for ever?’

But at the bidding of Manwë Mandos spoke and he said: ‘In this age the Children shall come indeed, but they come not yet. Moreover it is doom that the First Children should come in the darkness and should look first upon the Stars. Great light shall be for their waning. To Varda ever shall they call at need.’

§19And Varda said naught, but departing from the council she went to the mountain of Taniquetil and looked forth; and she beheld the darkness and was moved.

Then Varda took the silver dews from the vats of Telperion, and therewith she made new stars and brighter against the coming of the First-born. Wherefore she whose name out of the deeps of time and the labours of Eä was Tintallë, the Kindler, was called after by the Elves Elentári, the Queen of the Stars. Karnil and Luinil, Nénar and Lumbar, Alkarinquë and Elemmíre she wrought in that time, and other of her works of old she gathered together and set as signs in Heaven that the gods may read: Wilwarin, Telumendil, Soronúmë, and Anarríma; and Menelmakar with his shining belt that forebodes the Last Battle that shall be. And high in the North as a challenge unto Melkor she set the crown of seven mighty stars to swing, the Valakirka, the Sickle of the Gods and sign of doom. Many names have these stars been given; but in the North in the Elder Days Men called them the Burning Briar: quoth Pengolod [> (quoth Pengoloð)].

§20It is told that even as Varda ended her labours, and they were long, when first Menelmakar strode up the sky and the blue fire of Helluin flickered in the mists above the borders of the world, in that hour the Children of the Earth awoke, the First-born of Ilúvatar. Themselves they named the Quendi, whom we call Elves (quoth Ælfwine); but Oromë named them in their own tongue Eldar, people of the stars, and that name has since been borne by all that followed him upon the westward road. In the beginning they were stronger and greater than they have since become; but not more fair, for though the beauty of the Quendi in the days of their youth was beyond all other beauty that Ilúvatar has caused to be, it has not perished, but lives in the West, and sorrow and wisdom have enriched it.

And Oromë looking upon the Elves was filled with love and wonder, as though they were beings sudden and marvellous and unforetold. For [so] it shall ever be even with the Valar. From without the world, though all things may be forethought in music

or foreshown in vision from afar, to those who enter verily into Eä each in its time shall be met at unawares as something new and strange.

Thus it was that Oromë came upon the Quendi by chance in his wandering, while they dwelt yet silent upon [*read* beside] the starlit mere, Kuiviénen, Water of Awakening, in the East of Middle-earth. For a while he abode with them and aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth, and ever most dear to their hearts, and the fair Elvish speech was sweet in the ears of the Valar. Then swiftly Oromë rode back over land and sea to Valinor, filled with the thought of the beauty of the Elves, and he brought the tidings to Valmar. And the gods rejoiced, and yet were amazed at what he told; but Manwë sat long upon Taniquetil deep in thought, and he sought the counsel of Ilúvatar. And coming then down to Valmar he called a conclave of the Great, and thither came even Ulmo from the Outer Sea.

And Manwë said to the Valar: 'This is the counsel of Ilúvatar in my heart: that we should take up again the mastery of Arda, at whatsoever cost, and deliver the Quendi from the shadows of Melkor.' Then Tulkas was glad; but Aulë was grieved, and it is said that he (and others of the Valar) had before been unwilling to strive with Melkor, foreboding the hurts of the world that must come of that strife.

§21But now the Valar made ready and came forth from Aman in the strength of war, resolving to assault the fortress of Melkor in the North and make an end. Never did Melkor forget that this war was made on behalf of the Elves and that they were the cause of his downfall. Yet they had no part in those deeds; and little do they know of the riding of the power of the West against the North in the beginning of their days, and of the fire and tumult of the Battle of the Gods. In those days the shape of Middle-earth was changed and broken and the seas were moved. Tulkas it was who at the last wrestled with Melkor and overthrew him, and he was bound with the chain Angainor that Aulë had wrought, and led captive; and the world had peace for a great age. Nonetheless the fortress of Melkor at Utumno had many mighty vaults and caverns hidden with deceit far under earth, and these the Valar did not all discover nor utterly destroy, and many evil things still lingered there; and others were dispersed and fled into the dark and roamed in the waste places of the world, awaiting a more evil hour.

§22But when the Battle was ended and from the ruin of the North great clouds arose and hid the stars, the Valar drew Melkor back to Valinor bound hand and foot and blindfold, and he was cast into prison in the halls of Mandos, from whence none have ever escaped save by the will of Mandos and Manwë, neither Vala, nor Elf, nor mortal Man. Vast are those halls and strong, and they were built in the north of the land of Aman. There was Melkor doomed to abide for seven [> three] ages long, ere his cause should be tried again, or he should sue for pardon.

§23Then again the gods were gathered in council and were divided in debate. For some (and of these Ulmo was the chief) held that the Quendi should be left free to walk as they would in Middle-earth, and with their gifts of skill to order all the lands and heal their hurts. But the most part feared for the Quendi in the dangerous world amid the deceits of the starlit dusk; and they were filled moreover with the love of the beauty of the Elves and desired their fellowship. At the last, therefore, the Valar summoned the Quendi to Valinor, there to be gathered at the knees of the gods in the light of the blessed Trees for ever. And Mandos who had spoken not at all in the debate broke silence and said: ‘So it is doomed.’ For of this summons came many woes that after befell; yet those who hold that the Valar erred, thinking rather of the bliss of Valinor than of the Earth, and seeking to wrest the will of Ilúvatar to their own pleasure, speak with the tongues [*read* tongue] of Melkor.

Nonetheless the Elves were at first unwilling to hearken to the summons, for they had as yet seen the Valar only in their wrath as they went to war, save Oromë alone, and they were filled with dread. Therefore Oromë was sent again to them, and he chose from among them three ambassadors; and he brought them to Valmar. These were Ingwë and Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar; and coming they were filled with awe by the glory and majesty of the Valar and desired greatly the light and splendour of the Trees. Therefore they returned and counselled the Elves to remove into the West, and the greater part of the people hearkened to their counsel. This they did of their free will, and yet were swayed by the majesty of the gods, ere their own wisdom was full grown. The Elves that obeyed the summons and followed the three kings are called the Eldar, by the name that Oromë gave them; for he was their guide and led them at the last unto Valinor. Yet there were many who preferred the starlight and

the wide spaces of the Earth to the rumour of the glory of the Trees, and they remained behind. These are called the Avari, the Unwilling.

§24The Eldar prepared now a great march from their first homes in the East. When all was made ready, Oromë rode at their head upon Nahar, his white horse shod with gold; and behind him the Eldalië were arrayed in three hosts.

§25The smallest host and the first to set forth was led by Ingwë, the most high lord of all the Elvish race. He entered into Valinor and sits at the feet of the Powers, and all Elves revere his name; but he has never returned nor looked again upon Middle-earth. The Lindar [> Vanyar] were his folk, fairest of the Quendi; they are the High Elves, and the beloved of Manwë and Varda, and few Men have spoken with them.

§26Next came the Noldor, a name of wisdom.* They are the Deep Elves, and the friends of Aulë. Their lord was Finwë, wisest of all the children of the world. His kindred are renowned in song, for they fought and laboured long and grievously in the northern lands of old.

§27The greatest host came last, and they are named the Teleri, for they tarried on the road, and were not wholly of a mind to pass from the dusk to the light of Valinor. In water they had great delight, and those that came at last to the west shores were enamoured of the Sea. The Sea-elves therefore they became in Valinor, the Solonéldi [> Falmari], for they made music beside the breaking waves. Two lords they had, for their numbers were very great: Elwë Singollo, which signifies Greymantle, and Olwë his brother. The hair of Olwë was long and white, and his eyes were blue; but the hair of Elwë was grey as silver, and his eyes were as stars; he was the tallest of all the Elven-folk.

[§28The paragraph concerning the people of Dân who left the Great March and turned south was displaced to follow §29; see the Commentary.]

§29These are the chief peoples of the Eldalië, who passing at length into the uttermost West in the days of the Two Trees are called the Kalaquendi, the Elves of the Light. But others of the Eldar there were who set out indeed upon the Westward March, but became lost upon the long road, or turned aside, or lingered on the shores of Middle-earth. They dwelt by the sea, or wandered in the

woods and mountains of the world, yet their hearts were ever turned towards the West. These the Kalaquendi call the Alamanyar [> Úmanyar], since they came never to the Land of Aman and the Blessed Realm. But the Alamanyar [> Úmanyar] and the Avari alike they name the Moriquendi, Elves of the Darkness, for they never beheld the light before the Sun and Moon.

The Alamanyar [> Úmanyar] were for the most part of the race of the Teleri. For the hindmost of that people, repenting of the journey, forsook the host of Olwë, and Dân was their leader; and they turned southward and wandered long and far; and they became a folk apart, unlike their kin, save that they loved water, and dwelt most beside falls and running streams. They had greater lore of living things, tree and herb, bird and beast, than all other Elves. The Nandor they are called. It was Denethor son of Dân who turning again west at last led a part of that people over the mountains into Beleriand ere the rising of the Moon.

§30Others there were also of the Teleri that remained in Middle-earth. These were the Elves of Beleriand in the west of the Northern lands. They came from the host of Elwë the Grey. He was lost in the woods and many of his folk sought him long in vain; and thus when their kindred departed over Sea they were left behind and went not into the West. Therefore they are called the Sindar, the Grey Elves, but themselves they named Eglath, the Forsaken. Elwë after became their king, mightiest of all the Alamanyar [*correction to* Úmanyar *missed*]. He it was who was called Thingol in the language of Doriath.

[Other names in song and tale are given to these peoples. The Vanyar are the Blessed Elves, and the Spear-elves, the Elves of the Air, the friends of the Gods, the Holy Elves and the Immortal, and the Children of Ingwë; they are the Fair Folk and the White.

The Noldor are the Wise, and the Golden, the Valiant, the Sword-elves, the Elves of the Earth, the Foes of Melkor, the Skilled of Hand, the Jewel-wrights, the Companions of Men, the Followers of Finwë.

The Teleri are the Foam-riders, the Singers of the Shore, the Free, and the Swift, and the Arrow-elves; they are the Elves of the Sea, the Ship-wrights, the Swanherds, the Gatherers of Pearl, the Blue Elves, the people of Olwë. The Nandor are the Host of Dân, the Wood-elves, the Wanderers, the Axe-elves, the Green Elves and the Brown, the Hidden People; and those that came at last to Ossiriand are the Elves of the Seven Rivers, the Singers Unseen, the Kingless, the Weaponless, and the Lost Folk, for they are now no more. The Sindar are the Lemberi, the

Lingerers; they are the Friends of Ossë, the Elves of the Twilight, the Silvern, the Enchanters, the Wards of Melian, the Kindred of Lúthien, the people of Elwë. Quoth Pengoloð.]

Commentary on Chapter 3, 'Of the Coming of the Elves'

LQ 1 is here again, as in the previous chapter, virtually the final text, for the later typescript LQ 2 was scarcely touched, and there was no further enlargement or expansion.

§18 In AAm §30 (p. 70) it is said that Melkor 'wrought' the Balrogs in Utumno during the long darkness after the fall of the Lamps; but in an interpolation to AAm there enters the view that Melkor, after his rebellion, could make nothing that had life of its own (§45, see pp. 74, 78), and in AAm*, the second version of the opening of AAm (p. 79, §30), the Balrogs become the chief of 'the evil spirits that followed him, the Umaiar', whom at that time he *multiplied.* The statement in QS §18 that the Balrogs were 'the first made of his creatures' survived through all the texts of the later revision of the *Quenta*, but in the margin of one of the copies of LQ 2 my father wrote: 'See *Valaquenta* for true account.' This is a reference to the passage which appears in the published *Silmarillion* on p. 31:

> For of the Maiar many were drawn to his splendour in the days of his greatness, and remained in that allegiance down into his darkness; and others he corrupted afterwards to his service with lies and treacherous gifts. Dreadful among these spirits were the Valaraukar, the scourges of fire that in Middle-earth were called the Balrogs, demons of terror.

The actual text of LQ 2 my father emended at this time very hastily to read:

> These were the (*ëalar*) spirits who first adhered to him in the days of his splendour, and became most like him in his corruption: their hearts were of fire, but they were cloaked in darkness, and terror went before them; they had whips of flame. Balrogs they were named by the Noldor in later days. And in that dark time Melkor bred many other monsters of divers shapes and kinds that long troubled the world; and his realm spread now ever southward over the

Middle-earth. But the Orks, mockeries and perversions of the Children of Eru, did not appear until after the Awakening of the Elves.

There is a footnote to the word *ëalar* in this passage:

'spirit' (not incarnate, which was *fëa,* S[indarin] *fae)*. *ëala* 'being'.

On the origin of the Orcs in AAm (and especially with respect to the word 'perversions' in the passage just given) see pp. 78, 123–4. *Orks* was my father's late spelling.

§18a Of Yavanna's words before the Valar, and the words of Tulkas and Mandos, there has been no previous suggestion in the *Quenta* tradition; but cf. AV 2 (V.111, annal 1900): 'Yavanna often reproached the Valar for their neglected stewardship'. This was extended in AAm §§32–3 (p. 71), where most of the elements of the present passage appear, though more briefly expressed.

§19 Here the two star-makings are expressly contrasted, and Varda's names *Tintallë* 'the Kindler' and *Elentári* 'Queen of the Stars' differentiated in their bearing. The second star-making is described also in AAm §§35–6 (p. 71), but far more briefly, and though the 'gathering together of the ancient stars' to form signs in the heavens is mentioned there also, only the constellations *Menelmakar* (Orion) and *Valakirka* are named. That Menelmakar forebodes the Last Battle is said in both sources, but LQ does not name it as a sign of Túrin Turambar.

The name 'Burning Briar' for the Great Bear still survives in the *Quenta* tradition. This observation was made into a footnote in Text A (on which see p. 158), with the addition 'quoth Pengolod', but the typist of LQ 1 put it as usual into the body of the text, where my father left it.

In Text A, in which the names of the great stars and the constellations first entered, *Wilwarin*, *Karnil*, and *Alkarinquë* were typed *Vilvarin*, *Carnil*, and *Alcarinquë* and then altered to the forms in LQ 1. By a later change to Text A *Elentári* > *Elentárië*, not found in LQ 1 and LQ 2. — The name *Elemmíre* has appeared in AAm §114 (pp. 100, 106) as that of the Vanyarin Elf who made the *Aldudénië*.

§20 Although in Text A my father added the words 'quoth Ælfwine' to 'whom we call Elves' (deriving from QS) he retained this in the body of the text, and only on the final typescript LQ 2

wrote a direction that it should be a footnote.

The aberrant idea in QS that the coming of the Elves was not in the Music of the Ainur (see V.217) is now displaced by a much more subtle explanation of Oromë's astonishment. The detailed statement of the place of Kuiviénen in AAm §38 (p. 72) is absent here.

The history of the passage concerning Oromë and the Quendi (from 'For a while he abode with them …') is curious and complex. In text A as he typed it my father followed QS exactly in saying that Oromë 'taught them the language of the gods, from whence afterwards they made the fair Elvish speech', and that afterwards he returned to Valinor and brought tidings of the Awakening of the Quendi to Valmar. He then altered this to the text found in LQ 1 above (he 'aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth …'), and at the same time added at the beginning of §20 the words 'in their own tongue' ('but Oromë named them in their own tongue Eldar, people of the stars'). In this form the passage survived into LQ 2 without further change.

On Text A, however, my father struck out the passage beginning 'For a while he abode with them …' and replaced it with the following on a slip pinned to the typescript:

> Then swiftly he rode back over land and sea to Valinor, filled with the thought of the beauty of the long-awaited, and he brought the tidings to Valmar. And the gods rejoiced, and yet were in doubt amid their mirth, and they debated what counsel it were best now to take to guard the Elves from the shadow of Melkor. At once Oromë returned to Kuiviénen, and he abode there long among the Elves, and aided them in the making of language; for that was their first work of craft upon Earth, and ever the dearest to their hearts, and sweet was the Elven-tongue on the ears of the Valar. But Manwë sat alone upon Taniquetil …

This further revision makes Oromë return *at once* to Valinor, and *then* come back to Kuiviénen, where he aided the Elves in the making of language. It does not appear in LQ 1 and LQ 2 because, as I have said, this and other alterations were made to Text A after LQ 1 had been taken from it.

In AAm §39 (p. 72) the story is different: there the Quendi

'began to make speech and to give names to all things that they perceived' long before Oromë came upon them (335 Sun Years after the Awakening); and nothing is said of his playing any part in the evolution of Elvish speech.

In the sentence 'while they dwelt yet silent *upon* the star-lit mere' Text A has *beside; upon* in LQ 1 (and LQ 2) was clearly an error introduced by the typist (and similarly with the omission of *so* earlier in this paragraph and *tongues* for *tongue* in §23).

§21 On LQ 2 my father changed 'the fortress of Melkor' in the first sentence to 'the fortresses of Melkor', and at the end of the paragraph 'the fortress of Melkor at Utumno' to 'the fortresses of Melkor'. In this case he made the changes on LQ 1 also, but I have not included them in the text printed, since they were very late, and belonged with the changed story of the origin of Angband: see the commentary on Chapter 2, §12 (p. 156).

On Text A 'little do they know of the riding of the power of the West' was changed to 'they know little', but this, like the major change made to §20, was made after LQ 1 had been taken from Text A.

There reappears here for the first time since the *Lost Tales* the story that Aulë made the chain Angainor (elaborately recounted in *The Chaining of Melko*, I.100–1, where the form was *Angaino;* in *The Tale of Tinúviel* II.19, there is a reference to 'the chain Angainu that Aulë and Tulkas made').

§22 Changes were also made in this paragraph after LQ 1 had been made: 'from whence' > 'whence', and 'Vast are those halls and strong' > 'Vast and strong are those halls'.

In AAm §52 Melkor was condemned to Mandos for three ages (pp. 80, 88).

§23 That there were differing counsels of the Valar on the Summoning of the Quendi was not even hinted in the *Quenta* tradition till now. In AAm §53 (p. 81) there is mention of a debate, and in §73 (p. 86) it is told that in the council of the Valar Ulmo 'had chiefly spoken against the summons, deeming that it were better for the Quendi to remain in Middle-earth.' The belief that the Valar erred is not here imputed to them as an error 'with good intent' (QS, V.214), and to this extent is harshly repudiated.

The passage concerning the three ambassadors remains

virtually unchanged from QS, but in the course of the revision (see under §27 below) there came to be an internal change of reference — when Elwë became Thingol, whereas previously he had been Thingol's brother (see V.217, §23). Probably the sentences 'These were Ingwë and Finwë and Elwë, who after were kings of the Three Kindreds of the Eldar' and 'The Elves that obeyed the summons and followed the three kings' should have been modified when that transformation took place, and when the Third Host came to have two lords.

There is no mention in LQ of the kindreds of Morwë and Nurwë, who refused the summons (AAm §57, p. 81).

Another very minor change was made to Text A after LQ 1 was made: 'And Mandos who had spoken not at all' > 'And Mandos who had not spoken'.

§25 The name *Lindar* was altered to *Vanyar* by a late change made to the final text of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 34, §36); in AAm §58 (p. 82) *Vanyar* appears in the text as written. — By a pencilled change to LQ 2 'High Elves' was changed to 'Fair Elves' (see V. 218, §25).

§26 In Text A the opening sentence of this paragraph read: 'Next came the Noldor, a name of wisdom, and the Gnomes they may be called in our tongue', with 'Quoth Ælfwine. (The word that he uses …' placed in a footnote. The typist of LQ 1 placed all this in the body of the text; but my father directed that it should all go into a footnote, as is done in the text printed. In the Old English versions of the 1930s *Witan* was not used, but *Noldelfe*, *Noldielfe* (see also IV.212). On one copy of LQ 2 my father struck out 'Gnomes' and wrote above 'Enquirers'; this occurs nowhere else.

At the end of the paragraph he added to Text A: 'Dark is their hue and grey are their eyes'; this did not get into the later typescripts. See I.44.

§27 By the end of the revision, represented by LQ 1, the final position had been reached, as in AAm §§58, 74: Elwë Singollo (Greymantle) — who is Elu Thingol King of Doriath — and his brother Olwë, the two lords of the host of the Teleri on the Great March until Elwë was lost. The stages passed through to reach this can be observed in the earlier version of the end of Text A (see p. 158). First came the idea that there were two lords, because the numbers were very great: Elwë and his

brother Sindo ('the locks of Sindo were as grey as silver … but the hair of Elwë was long and white, and he was the tallest of all the Elven-race'). Then *Elwë* was changed to *Solwë,* and *Sindo* to *Elwë;* at this stage, probably, Elwë (the Grey) became one of the three original ambassadors, displacing his brother (now Solwë) in this at the same time as he took his name (and became in his stead 'the tallest of all the Elven-folk').

§28 In the first stage of the 1951 revision, carried out on the original QS typescript, the people of Dân, still from the host of the Noldor, were thus described:

> They are not counted among the Eldar, nor yet among the Avari. The [Nandar >] Nandor who turn back they were called, and akin was the name of their first leader Nano, who in their tongue was called Dân. His son was Denethor, who led them into Beleriand ere the rising of the Moon. The *Danathrim*, Danians, they were named in that land.

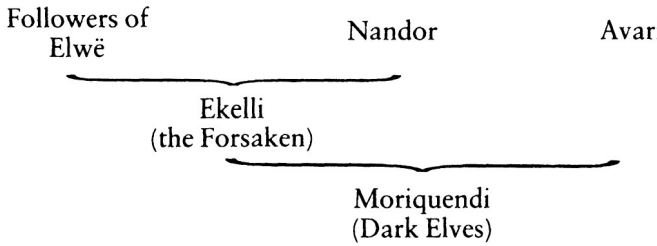
The term *Pereldar* 'Half-eldar' used in QS had now disappeared, and in this passage is clearly the first occurrence of the name *Nandor* (which appears subsequently in AAm §62: see pp. 83, 89).

In the next stage (Text A) the paragraph was removed from its former place and set at the end of §29. At this stage the Nandor, also called the *Laiquendi* or Green-elves, became Telerin Elves from the host of Sindo the Grey, and were placed with the other Teleri (followers of Sindo) who remained behind in Beleriand under the name *Ekelli* (first written *Ecelli*), 'the Forsaken'. See further under §§29–30.

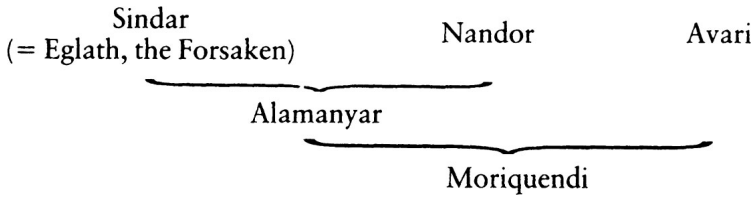
§§29–30 In the first stage of the revision the form *Lembi* 'Lingerers' — the Elves of the Great Journey who 'were lost upon the long road' — became *Lemberi*, classed with the Avari as *Moriquendi*, Dark Elves. The term *Kalaquendi*, Light Elves, also appeared in the account (though found much earlier, together with *Moriquendi*, in the table associated with the *Lhammas*, V.197, and also in the *Etymologies)*. At this stage the old subdivision *Ilkorindi* (comprising Lembi and Pereldar or Danas, see the table given in V.219) is not present, and the place of the Nandor is not defined.

In the next stage (Text A) the term *Lemberi* was not used, and there emerged the short-lived term *Ekelli (Ecelli*) used (like the old *Ilkorindi*) of all the 'lost Eldar', including the

Nandor (see under §28); *Ekelli* was the name given to them by the Elves of Valinor, and meant 'the Forsaken, their kin that were left behind'. Thus:



Ekelli was then replaced by *Alamanyar* ('since they came never to the Land of Aman'), and the Nandor became Elves from the host of Olwë; while those who sought in vain for Elwë Singollo (Thingol) are 'therefore' called *Sindar*, the Grey Elves, 'but themselves they named *Eglath*, the Forsaken.' Thus:



It was here, undoubtedly, that the name *Sindar* arose: occurrences earlier in LQ were inserted later, and that in AAm (§74, see p. 91) was later also. With the change of *Alamanyar* to *Úmanyar* on LQ 1 the final form (as shown in the table in the published *Silmarillion*, p. 309) was reached.

Thus some important developments in the narrative emerged in the course of the 1951 revision of the end of this chapter. The original Elwë, who in QS (§30) was Thingol's brother, became Olwë, while the name Elwë was transferred to Thingol — who became one of the three Elvish 'ambassadors' taken by Oromë to Valinor, in the place of his brother; and both Olwë and Elwë were leaders of the Telerin host on the Great March from Kuiviénen. The story that the Eldar of Beleriand (the Sindar) did not pass over the Sea because they were left behind seeking for Elwë Singollo takes

up a passage in the *Lhammas* (V.174, cited on p. 90, §71); in QS there was no suggestion that the Elves of Doriath were specifically those of Thingol's following who would not abandon the search for him.

In AAm the whole matter is treated from a different point of view: there, the events and geography of the Great Journey are a central element, but the complexities of naming and classification are not. It is clear however that AAm was not written until the revision of the *Quenta* tradition concerning the Sundering of the Elves was virtually complete: for in AAm the Nandor are from the host of Olwë (§62), and the followers of Elwë who were left behind called themselves *Eglath*, the Forsaken People (§71).

The passage recounting the names used in poetry for the Elvish peoples, which goes back to QS, and which forms an integral part of Text A, was for some reason omitted from LQ 1; my father wrote it onto the typescript subsequently (with *Vanyar* for *Lindar* of Text A).

Later changes made to Text A altered 'Axe-elves' to 'Staff-elves' as a name of the Nandor, and introduced 'Axe-elves' as a name of the Sindar (following 'the Friends of Ossë'); but these were 'lost' and do not appear in LQ 1 and LQ 2. — The name Lemberi 'Lingerers' (see under §§29–30 above) reappears as one of the by-names of the Sindar; and 'the Green Elves and the Brown' re-emerge from the old *Tale of the Nauglafring* (II.237, etc.).

It remains to notice lastly that on LQ 2 my father changed the title of the chapter to *Of the Coming of the Elves and the Captivity of Melkor*, which was followed in the published *Silmarillion*; and also that on one copy of this typescript, against the first occurrence of *Úmanyar* (§29), he wrote *Alamanyar* in the margin, as if he were considering a return to the earlier name.

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4 OF THINGOL AND MELIAN

Of Thingol and Melian was not a separate chapter in the QS manuscript and the derived QS typescript, although in both there was a sub-heading (and in *The Lost Road*, V.220, I treated it as separate, numbering it 3(b)). The first text of the 1951 revision was a manuscript that continued on from the manuscript ending of 'Text

A' of *The Coming of the Elves* (see p. 158), and here my father may have intended it as a separate chapter, although there is no number. From 'Text A', as in the preceding chapter, LQ 1 was taken, and the final text was LQ 2 (in which the chapter is numbered '4').

The first paragraph remained almost unchanged from QS, but the remainder was much expanded.

Of Thingol and Melian

§31Thus it came to pass that Elu-thingol [> Elwë Singollo] and many of his folk abode in Beleriand and went not to Valinor.

Melian was a *maia,* of the race of the Valar. She dwelt in the gardens of Olofantur, and among all his fair folk there was none more beautiful than she, nor more wise, nor more skilled in songs of enchantment. It is told that the gods would leave their business, and the birds of Valinor their mirth, that the bells of Valmar were silent and the fountains ceased to flow, when at the mingling of the lights Melian sang in Lorien. Nightingales went always with her, and she taught them their song. She loved the deep shadow of great trees; but she was akin, before the world was made, unto Yavanna herself, and on a time she departed from Valinor on a long journey into the Hither Lands, and there she filled the silence of Arda before the dawn with her voice and with the voices of her birds.

§32Now it came to pass that when their journey was near its end the folk of Elwë rested long and dwelt in Beleriand beyond Gelion; and King Elwë went often through the great woods, for he had friendship with the Noldor who lay to the westward, and with Finwë their lord. And it chanced on a time that he came alone to the starlit wood of Nan Elmoth, and there on a sudden he heard the song of nightingales. Then an enchantment fell upon him, and he stood still; and afar off beyond the voices of the *lómelindi** he heard the voice of Melian, and it filled all his heart with wonder and desire. He forgot then utterly all his folk and all the purposes of his mind, and following the birds under the shadows of the trees he passed deep into Nan Elmoth and was lost. But he came at last to a glade open to the stars, and there Melian stood; and out of the darkness he beheld her with hands outstretched, and the light of Aman was in her face.

No word she spoke; but being filled with love Elwë came to her and took her hand; and straightway a spell was laid on him, so that

they stood thus, hand in hand, while long years were measured by the wheeling stars above them; and the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark ere they spoke any word one to another.

§33Thus Elwë's folk who sought him found him not, and Olwë took the kingship of the Teleri and departed; but Elwë Singollo came never again across the sea to Valinor; and Melian returned not thither while their realm together lasted; and of her a strain of the [*read:* of the race of the] immortal gods came among both Elves and Men, as hereafter shall be told. In after days Melian and Elwë became Queen and King of Grey Elves, and their hidden halls were in Menegroth, the Thousand Caves, in Doriath; and as Thingol Greymantle he was known in the [*read:* to all in the] tongue of that land. Great power Melian lent to Thingol her spouse, who was in himself great among the Eldar; for he alone of all the Forsaken had seen with his own eyes the Trees in the day of their flowering, and king though he were [> was] of Alamanyar [> Úmanyar], he was not accounted among the Moriquendi, but with the Elves of the Light, mighty upon Middle-earth.

Commentary on Chapter 4, 'Of Thingol and Melian

§31The form 'Elu-thingol' here first appeared. — *Olofantur* was corrected to *Lórien* on one copy of LQ 2 (see p. 150, §6).

§32With the mention of the long sojourn of the Teleri in the lands beyond Gelion cf. AAm §64 (p. 83). The story of Elwë's journey to visit Finwë his friend is told also in AAm (§§64–5); and the phrase 'the trees of Nan Elmoth grew tall and dark' is found in both sources. In AAm Elwë's trance lasted for more than two centuries measured by the Sun (p. 89, §65).

§33It now becomes explicit, and not merely implied, that Thingol had been to Valinor, as one of the three ambassadors (see pp. 168–9, §§23, 27). — The readings in LQ 1 'a strain of the immortal gods' and 'he was known in the tongue of that land' were clearly mere errors of omission on the part of the typist; the readings proposed are found in my father's manuscript Text A (see p. 158). A late change to Text A made after LQ 1 was copied from it was 'Grey Elves' to 'the Grey Elves'.

My father did less revision and rewriting of this chapter than on those preceding, and in fact did not himself make a wholly new text: the revision of 1951 was very largely restricted to emendation of the old QS typescript, and it was from this that LQ 1 was taken. In the QS typescript this was not a separate chapter, but a 'sub-chapter' entitled *Of Kôr and Alqualondë* (in *The Lost Road* numbered 3(c); V.221–5); after which that typescript was abandoned, and for the remainder of the work there is only the QS manuscript from the pre-*Lord of the Rings* period.

Emendation to the QS typescript was carried out at different times, and three important passages of rewriting (see the commentary on §§40, 43) were 'lost' and not taken up into the later texts.

Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië

§34In time the hosts of the Eldalië came to the last western shores of the Hither Lands. In the North these shores, in the ancient days after the battle of the gods, sloped ever westward, until in the northernmost parts of the earth only a narrow sea divided the Outer Land of Aman, upon which Valinor was built, from the Hither Lands; but this narrow sea was filled with grinding ice, because of the violence of the frosts of Melkor. Therefore Oromë did not lead the Eldar into the far North, but brought them to the fair lands about the River Sirion that afterwards were named Beleriand; and from those shores whence first the hosts of the Eldar looked in fear and wonder on the sea there stretched an ocean, wide and dark and deep, between them and the Mountains of Aman.

§35There they waited and gazed upon the dark waves. But Ulmo came from the Valar; and he uprooted a half-sunken island, which now long had stood alone amid the sea, far from either shore; and with the aid of his servants he moved it, as it were a mighty ship, and anchored it in the bay into which Sirion pours his water.* Thereon he embarked the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor, for they had already assembled. But the Teleri were behind, being slower and less eager upon the march, and they were delayed also by the loss of Thingol and their fruitless search; and they did not come until Ulmo had departed.

§36Therefore Ulmo drew the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor

over the sea to the long shores beneath the Mountains of Valinor, and they entered the land of the gods and were welcomed to its bliss. But the Teleri dwelt long by the coasts of the western sea, awaiting Ulmo's return; and they grew to love the sound of the waves, and they made songs filled with the music of water. Ossë heard them, and came thither; and he loved them, delighting in the music of their voices. Sitting upon a rock nigh to the margin of the sea he spoke to them and instructed them. Great therefore was his grief when Ulmo returned at length to bear them away to Valinor. Some he persuaded to remain on the beaches of the Middle-earth, and these were the Elves of the Falas that in after days had dwellings at the havens of Brithombar and Eglorest in Beleriand; but most of the Teleri embarked upon the isle and were drawn far away.

§37Ossë followed them, and when they were come near to their journey's end, he called to them; and they begged Ulmo to halt for a while, so that they might take leave of their friend and look their last upon the sky of stars. For the light of the Trees that filtered through the passes of the hills filled them with awe. And Ulmo understood well their hearts, and granted their request; and at his bidding Ossë made fast the island and rooted it in the foundations of the sea. Then Ulmo returned to Valinor and made known what had been done, and the Valar for the most part were ill-pleased; but the island could not again be moved without great hurt, or without peril to the Teleri who dwelt thereon; and it was not moved, but stood there alone for many an age. No other land lay near it, and it was called Tol Eressëa, the Lonely Isle.* There the Teleri long had their home, and Ossë was often among them, and they learned of him strange musics and sea-lore; and he brought to them sea-birds, the gift of Yavanna, for their delight. By this long sojourn of the Teleri apart in the Lonely Isle was caused the sundering of their speech from the language of the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor.

§38To these the Valar had given a land and dwelling-places. Even among the radiant flowers of the Tree-lit gardens of the gods they longed still to see the stars at times. Therefore a gap was made in the great walls of the Pelóri, and there in a deep valley that ran down to the sea the Eldar raised a high green hill: Tuna it was called. From the West the light of the Trees fell upon it, and its shadow lay ever eastward; and to the East it looked towards the Bay of Elvenhome, and the Lonely Isle, and the Shadowy Seas. Then

through the Kalakiryan, the Pass of Light, the radiance of the Blessed Realm streamed forth, kindling the waves with gleams of gold and silver, and it touched the Lonely Isle, and its western shore grew green and fair. There bloomed the first flowers that ever were east of the mountains of the gods.

§39Upon the crown of Túna, the green hill, the city of the Elves was built, the white walls and terraces of Tirion; and the highest of the towers of that city was the Tower of Ingwë, the Mindon, Mindon Eldaliéva, whose silver lamp shone far out into the mists of the sea. Few are the ships of mortal Men that have seen its slender beam. In Tirion* the Lindar [> Vanyar] and the Noldor dwelt long time in fellowship. And since of all things in Valinor they loved most the White Tree, Yavanna made for them a tree in all things like a lesser image of Telperion, save that it did not give light of its own being; and this tree was planted in the courts beneath the Tower and there flourished, and its seedlings were many in Eldanor. Of which one was after planted in Eressëa, and prospered. Thence came in the fullness of time, as is later told, the White Tree of Númenor.

§40Manwë and Varda loved most the Lindar [> Vanyar], the High Elves, and holy and immortal were all their deeds and songs. The Noldor were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and great became their knowledge and their skill. Yet ever greater was their thirst for more knowledge, and their desire to make things wonderful and new. They were changeful in speech, for they had great love of words, and sought ever to find names more fit for all things that they knew or imagined. In Valinor they first contrived the fashioning of gems, and they made them in countless myriads of many kinds and hues; and they filled all Elendë with them, and the halls of the gods in Valinor were enriched.

§41The Noldor afterwards came back to Middle-earth, and this tale tells mostly of their deeds; therefore the names and kinship of their princes may here be told in that form which these names after had in the tongue of the Gnomes as it was [> the Elves] in Beleriand upon the Middle-earth. Finwë was king of the Noldor. His sons were Fëanor, Fingolfin, and Finrod [> Finarphin]. Of these Fëanor was the mightiest in skill of word and hand, more learned in lore than his brethren; in his heart his spirit burned as flame. Fingolfin was the strongest, the most steadfast, and the most valiant. Finrod [> Finarphin] was the fairest, and the most wise of

heart; and afterwards he was a friend of the sons of Olwë, lord of the Teleri, and had to wife Eärwen, the swan-maiden of Alqualondë, Olwë's daughter. The seven sons of Fëanor were Maidros [> Maedhros] the tall; Maglor a musician and a mighty singer, whose voice was heard far over land and sea; Celegorn [> Celegorm] the fair, and Cranthir [> Caranthir] the dark; and Curufin the crafty, who inherited most of his father's skill of hand; and the youngest Damrod and Díriel [> Amrod and Amras], who were twin brothers alike in mood and face. They afterwards were great hunters in the woods of Middle-earth. A hunter also was Celegorn [> Celegorm], who in Valinor was a friend of Oromë and followed oft the great god's horn.

§42The sons of Fingolfin were Fingon, who was after king of the Gnomes [> Noldor] in the North of the World; and Turgon of Gondolin; and their sister was Isfin [> Írith] the White. [*Added:* She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren; and when she was grown to full stature and beauty she was greater and stronger than woman's wont, and she loved much to ride on horse and to hunt in the forests, and there was often in the company of her kinsmen, the sons of Fëanor; but to none was her heart's love given. She was called the White Lady of the Noldor; for though her hair was dark, she was pale and clear of hue, and she was ever arrayed in silver and white.] The sons of Finrod [> Finarphin] were Inglor [> Finrod] the faithful (who afterwards was named Felagund, Lord of Caves), [*struck out:* and Orodreth,] and Angrod, and Egnor [> Aegnor]. And these four [> three] were as close in friendship with the sons of Fingolfin as though they were all brethren together. A sister they had, Galadriel, the fairest lady of the house of Finwë, and the most valiant. Her hair was lit with gold as though it had caught in a mesh the radiance of Laurelin.

§43Here must be told how the Teleri came at last to Valinor. For nigh on one hundred of the years of Valinor, which were each as ten of the years of the Sun that were after made, they dwelt in Tol Eressëa. But slowly their hearts were moved, and were drawn towards the light that flowed out over the sea unto their isle; and they were torn between the love of the music of the waves upon their shores, and desire to see again their kindred and to look upon the splendour of the gods. Yet in the end desire of the light was the stronger. Therefore Ulmo taught them the craft of ship-building; and Ossë, submitting to Ulmo, brought them as his farewell gift the

strong-winged swans. These they harnessed to their fleet of white ships, and thus they were drawn without the help of the winds to Valinor.

§44There they dwelt upon the long shores of Elvenhome [> Elvenland], and if they wished they could see the light of the Trees, and could visit the golden streets of Valmar and the crystal stairs of Tirion upon the Green Hill. But most it was their wont to sail in their swift ships upon the waters of the Bay of Elvenhome, or to walk in the waves upon the shore with their long hair gleaming like foam in the light beyond the hill. Many jewels the Noldor gave them, opals and diamonds and pale crystals, which they strewed upon the shores and scattered in the pools. Marvellous were the beaches of Elendë in those days. And many pearls they won for themselves from the sea, and their halls were of pearl, and of pearl were the mansions of Elwë [> Olwë] at the Haven of the Swans, lit with many lamps. For Alqualondë, the Haven of the Swans, was their chief town, and the harbour of their ships; and these were fashioned in the likeness of swans, white, and their beaks were of gold with eyes of gold and jet. The gate of that harbour was an arch of living rock sea-carven, and it lay upon the confines of the Elvenland, north of Kalakiryan, where the light of the stars was bright and clear.

§45As the ages passed the Lindar [> Vanyar] grew to love the land of the gods and the full light of the Trees, and they forsook the city upon Túna, and dwelt upon the mountain of Manwë, or about the plains and woods of Valinor, and became sundered from the Noldor. But remembrance of the Earth under the Stars remained in the hearts of the Gnomes [> Noldor], and they abode in the Kalakiryan, and in the hills and valleys within sound of the western sea; and though many of them went oft about the land of the gods [> Valar], making far journeys in search of the secrets of land and water and all living things, [*struck out:* yet their intercourse was more with the Teleri than with the Lindar (> Vanyar); and] the tongues [> peoples] of Túna and of Alqualondë drew together in those days. Finwë was king of Túna and Elwë [> Olwë] of Alqualondë; but Ingwë was ever held the high-king of all the Elves. He dwelt thereafter at the feet of Manwë upon Taniquetil. Fëanor and his sons abode seldom in one place for long. They travelled far and wide upon [*read:* within] the confines of Valinor, going even to the borders of the Dark and the cold shores of the Outer Sea,

seeking the unknown. Often they were guests in the halls of Aulë; but Celegorn [> Celegorm] went rather to the house of Oromë, and there he got great knowledge of all birds and beasts, and all their tongues he knew. For all living things that are or have been in the Kingdom of Arda, save only the fell and evil creatures of Melkor, lived then in Valinor; and there also were many other creatures beautiful and strange that have not yet been seen upon the Middle-earth, and perchance never now shall be, since the fashion of the World was changed.

Commentary on Chapter 5, 'Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië'

§35 The identification of the isle of the Gods' first dwelling with the isle of the Elves' ferrying (see IV.45) was abandoned when the isle of the Gods amid the seas became an isle (Almaren) in a great lake in the midst of Middle-earth. Tol Eressëa has now no significant origin. Cf. AAm §66 (p. 84): 'an island which long had stood alone amidst the Sea, since the tumults of the fall of Illuin'. The old story was still present in a draft narrative associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê* (IX.402 and note 11).

§36 The form *Eglorest* was retained from QS presumably through oversight and not changed to *Eglarest* as in AAm (§70).

§37 The changed story of the rooting of Tol Eressëa to the bottom of the sea appears also in AAm (§§72–3 and commentary); with 'Ulmo understood well their hearts' cf. LQ §23 (p. 161: Ulmo's belief that the Quendi should be left in Middle-earth).

In Ælfwine's note *Avallónë* appears as a name of Tol Eressëa, not, as in the published *Silmarillion*, of a haven in the isle; cf. the *Akallabêth* (p. 260): 'there is in that land a haven that is named Avallónë, for it is of all cities the nearest to Valinor.' In the third version of *The Fall of Númenor* (IX.332), as here, Tol Eressëa 'was named anew Avallon: for it is hard by Valinor and within sight of the Blessed Realm'; while on the other hand in the narrative sketches associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê* the name *'Avallon(de)'* already appears as the name of the eastern haven (IX.399, 403 and note 12).

§38 'The Bay of Elvenhome': in the footnote to §39, as in its forerunner in QS, 'Elvenhome' is the name of the city, translating *Eldamar*, while 'Elvenland' is the name of the

regions where the Elves dwelt, translating *Eldanor;* in §44 of this chapter QS 'shores of Elvenhome' was changed in the revision to 'shores of Elvenland', but 'the Bay of Elvenhome' was allowed to stand in §§38, 44. In AAm *Eldamar* is the name of the region: see p. 90, §67.

The form *Kalakiryan*, for earlier *Kalakirya*, arose in the course of the composition of AAm (p. 87 note 7).

On 'the first flowers that ever were east of the mountains of the gods' see p. 60, §15, and the references given there.

§39 *Tirion* upon *Túna*, replacing *Túna* upon *Kôr*, and *Mindon Eldaliéva* replacing *Ingwemindon*, are found also in AAm §§67–8 (pp. 84–5, 90). — On LQ 2 'the Mindon, Mindon Eldaliéva' (the original emendation to the QS typescript, not an error) the repetition of 'Mindon' was bracketed for exclusion.

'In Tirion the Vanyar and the Noldor dwelt long time in fellowship': this is scarcely in accord with AAm (see p. 90, §68). LQ retained also the old phrase in §45: 'As the ages passed the Vanyar grew to love the land of the gods … and they forsook the city upon Túna'.

The gift of Yavanna to the people of Tirion of an 'image' of Telperion is recorded also in AAm §69 (p. 85), where it is named *Galathilion* and is a gift to the Noldor. In LQ §16 *Galathilion* is the Sindarin name of Telperion, and in the footnote to LQ §17 on the names of the Trees the White Tree of Túna is *Galathilion the Less*. The Trees of Eressëa and Númenor are referred to in that note also, and given the names *Celeborn* and *Nimloth* (both of which were names of Telperion).

§40 'High Elves' > 'Fair Elves' by a late change to LQ 2, as in Chapter 3 (p. 168, §25).

On one copy of LQ 2 my father revised the paragraph thus: Manwë and Varda loved most the Vanyar, the High Elves, and all their deeds and songs were holy and immortal. The Noldor were beloved of Aulë, and of Mandos the wise; and their knowledge and skill became great. Yet ever greater grew their thirst for more knowledge, and their desire to make things new and wonderful. They were changeful in speech, for they had great love of words, and were never weary of devising names more fitting for all the things that they knew or imagined.

This is strange, and I cannot really explain it; it seems as if he were experimenting (but casually, and only in this and one other passage) with a stylistic 'reduction', especially in respect of the characteristic 'inversions'. Comparison with the text as it stood (which is that of QS) shows how flat the opening sentences had become.

After LQ 1 had been made my father returned to the original QS typescript, and wrote in a substantial new passage on the subject of the jewels of the Noldor; this was not entered on LQ 1 and so was 'lost', since he never rediscovered it, and the final typescript LQ 2 still retained the old text in which the Noldor 'contrived the fashioning of gems'. The new passage read (following the words 'all things that they knew or imagined.'):

> And in all crafts of hand they delighted also; and their masons built many towers tall and slender, and many halls and houses of marble. Thus it came to pass that, quarrying in the hills after stone, the Noldor first discovered gems, in which the Land of Aman was indeed surpassing rich, and they brought them forth in countless myriads of many kinds and hues; and they carved and fashioned them in shapes of bright beauty, and they filled all Elendë with them, and the halls of the gods in Valinor were enriched.

In fact, a closely similar change (including the phrase 'carved them in many forms of bright beauty') was made to AAm §79 (p. 92 with note 3 and p. 103).

§§41–2 In Appendix F to *The Lord of the Rings* is found in the First Edition (published in October 1955): 'the Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finrod, father of Felagund'; in the Second Edition (1966) this became 'the Lady Galadriel of the royal house of Finarphin and sister of Finrod Felagund'. Since as late as September 1954 (*Letters* no. 150) my father was apologising to Allen and Unwin for not having as yet 'any copy to send in for the Appendices', it is clear that *Finrod* > *Finarphin* and *Inglor* > *Finrod* cannot have been entered on LQ 1 until after this time. On the typescript text of AAm (p. 128, §134) he noted that the names of the Sons of Fëanor 'will be revised', and on the text he changed *Cranthir* to *Caranthir*, underlined the *n* of *Celegorn*, and struck out *Damrod* and *Díriel* without replacing them. LQ 2 has the altered names. I have

suggested that the typescripts of AAm and LQ 2 belong to much the same time (perhaps about 1958): see pp. 141–2.

It is characteristic of the textual puzzles that abound in my father's later work on *The Silmarillion* that the regular change of *Lindar* > *Vanyar* was undoubtedly made on LQ 1 in this chapter at the same time as these other changes of name; yet AAm has *Vanyar* as first written. It may be that a good deal of the correction to LQ 1 was actually carried out a long time after that text was typed.

§41 The marriage of Finrod (= Finarphin) to Eärwen Olwë's daughter is recorded under the Valian Year 1280 in AAm §85 (p. 93). — By a late change to LQ 2 *Maglor* > *Maelor*; *Maelor* occurs in the later *Lay of Leithian,* III.353.

§42 The passage describing the White Lady of the Noldor was added on a slip to the original QS typescript, and this slip is a page from a used engagement calendar dated October 1951. At that stage her name was still *Isfin*. *A* rejected draft for this rider on the same slip began thus:

> She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren, for she awoke in Valinor [not upon Middle-earth >] after the making of the Silmarils, and even as the first shadow fell upon the Blessed Realm; and when she was grown to full stature …

The words 'She was younger in the years of the Eldar than her brethren, for she awoke in Valinor not upon Middle-earth' are not in accord with AAm, where Fingolfin their father was himself born in Aman (§81).

The rider was not taken up into LQ 1 as typed, which still had the name *Isfin*, as in AAm (see p. 102 notes 8 and 9: the first birth-date for Isfin (1469) makes her born after the making of the Silmarils in 1450, but the second (1362) before). But later *Isfin* was changed to *Írith* on LQ 1 (at the same time as the corrections of *Finrod* to *Finarphin*, etc.), and the same rider was attached on a slip, identical in wording to that attached to the old QS typescript, but with the name *Írith*. This is presumably a case where a 'lost' change was recovered.

In QS Angrod and Egnor were friends of the sons of Fëanor, while Inglor and Orodreth were friends of the sons of Fingolfin, Fingon and Turgon. Now the association of Angrod and Egnor with the Fëanorians (which led to their being

allowed passage in the ships at the time of the crossing to Middle-earth, QS §73) was abandoned (as it was also in AAm, §135, pp. 113, 125), and all four of Finarphin's sons become the bosom friends of Fingon and Turgon. 'And these four' was changed to 'And these three' on LQ 1 when Orodreth was finally ejected entirely from the third generation of the Noldorin princes (see III.91, 246, and *Unfinished Tales* p. 255 note 20).

Here Galadriel enters the *Quenta* tradition; for Galadriel in AAm see §§85, 135 and commentary. On one copy of LQ 2 my father noted: 'In High-elvish her name was *Altariellë* "Lady with garland of sunlight", *galata-rīg-elle* = S[indarin] *Galadriel.* It was thus mere accident that her name resembled *galað* (Silvan *galad* "tree").' Cf. the Appendix to *The Silmarillion* p. 360, entry *kal-*.

§43In this paragraph my father made two narrative changes that (like the passage concerning the jewels of the Noldor referred to under §40 above) were 'lost', since they were made to the QS typescript after LQ 1 had been copied from it. The first concerns the sentence 'For nigh on one hundred of the years of Valinor, which were each as ten of the years of the Sun that were after made' (the text of QS, preserved in LQ 1 and 2); here the following was substituted:

> For well-nigh one hundred of the years of our time (though that be but ten of the Years of the Valar) they dwelt in Tol Eressëa.

The reduction of the time during which the Teleri dwelt apart in Tol Eressëa from 1000 to 100 years of the Sun was clearly made for linguistic reasons. A thousand years would introduce such changes as to make the tongues of the Noldor (a people in any case 'changeful in speech', §40) and the Teleri into different languages, which could not conceivably 'draw together' again (§45). In AAm (§§72, 75) the 'lost' reckoning of only 100 years of the Sun is present.

On one copy of LQ 2 my father emended the original passage anew, and produced: 'They dwelt in Tol Eressëa for nearly one hundred of the years of Valinor (which were each as ten of the later years of the Sun in Middle-earth).' Since this does not alter the sense in any way it must have been made to reduce the archaic element (cf. the passage given under §40

above). Thus the revision made to the QS typescript for reasons of likelihood in linguistic history was forgotten; on the other hand, the change on LQ 1 of 'tongues' to 'peoples' in 'the tongues of Túna and of Alqualondë drew together in those days' was very probably made for the same reason, though resolving the difficulty in a different way.

The second of the 'lost' emendations in this paragraph changed the story that it was Ulmo who taught the Teleri the craft of ship-building:

> Therefore Ulmo, submitting to the will of the Valar, sent unto them Ossë their friend, and he, albeit in grief, taught them the craft of ship-building; and when their ships were built he brought to them as his farewell gift the strong-winged swans.

In AAm §75 Ulmo as teacher was likewise corrected to Ossë (p. 86 and note 8). This shift is an aspect of the changed story of the rooting of Tol Eressëa to the sea-bottom; where in QS Ossë submitted to Ulmo, Ulmo now submits to the will of the Valar.

§44 *Kalakiryan* was corrected on one copy of LQ 2 to *the Calaciryan*, and the same change of spelling in §45. — It is at first sight puzzling that LQ 1 has *Olwë* in §41 but *Elwë* in §§44–5, but the reason is simply that the correction in the latter two places was missed on the QS typescript.

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6 OF THE SILMARILS AND THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

The textual history of this chapter is entirely different from that of any of the preceding ones. In the first stage of revision, only few and slight changes were made to the QS manuscript (the old QS typescript text having stopped at the end of the previous chapter), and these were taken up into LQ 1. But *after* LQ 1 had been made, my father returned to the old manuscript, and on the verso pages began a new version — rather oddly, paginating it on from the end of the QS typescript, and retaining the chapter number 4. This was clearly an element in the revision of 1951. At first this version is virtually continuous (as far as part way through §50), and if retaining the old text he wrote it out anew; but after this point he

made use of the actual QS manuscript text, though emending it and interpolating it very heavily. At '… came into that region that is called Arvalin' (§55) the new work effectively ceases. My father scarcely touched LQ 1: he made a couple of changes on the first page of the typescript, including *Lindar* > *Vanyar*, but then stopped: a later occurrence of *Lindar* was left to stand. Here therefore LQ 1 ceases to be of use, and the text printed is the new text of the chapter written on the QS manuscript: it will be convenient to refer to this simply as 'LQ'.

The new writing was itself emended and interpolated subsequently, in red ink; I give the text in its final form, but in a few cases where the distinction between earlier and later readings is of interest I record the earlier in notes following the text. The title given to the new version was *Of the Silmarilli and the Darkening of Valinor*, but this was changed to (apparently — the intention is not perfectly clear) *Of Fëanor and the Silmarilli, and the Darkening of Valinor*. For the QS version (in which it is numbered Chapter 4) see V.227–31. There is no text of the chapter extant in the LQ 2 series.

§46From this time, when the Three Kindreds of the Eldar were gathered at last in Valinor, and Melkor was chained, began the Noontide of the Blessed Realm and its fullness of glory and bliss, long in tale of years, but in memory too brief. In those days the Eldar became full-grown in stature of body and of mind, and the Noldor advanced ever in skill and knowledge; and the long years were filled with their joyful labours, in which many new things fair and wonderful were devised.

§46aThen it was that the Noldor first bethought them of letters, and Rúmil of Túna was the name of that lore-master who first made fitting signs for the recording of speech and song, some for graving upon metal or in stone, others for drawing with brush or with pen.

§46bIn that time was born in Eldamar in the house of the king, in Tirion upon the crown of Tuna, Fëanor the eldest of the sons of Finwë, and the most beloved. Míriel was the name of his mother. Silver was her hair and dark were her eyes, but her hands were more skilled to fineness than any hands even of the Noldor. By her was the craft of needles devised; and were but one fragment of the broideries of Míriel to be seen in Middle-earth it would be held dearer than a king's realm, for the richness of her devices and the fire of their colours were as manifold and as bright as the glory of leaf and flower and wing in the fields of Yavanna. Therefore she

was named Míriel Serende.*

§46cAnd Fëanor grew swiftly as if a secret fire were kindled within him, and he was tall and fair of face and masterful, and he became of all the Noldor the most subtle of heart and of mind, and the most skilled of hand. He it was that in his youth, bettering the work of Rúmil, made those letters which bear his name, and which ever since the Eldar have used; yet this was the least of his works. For he it was that first of the Noldor discovered how gems greater and brighter than those of the Earth might be made with skill. And the first gems that Fëanor devised were white and colourless, but being set under starlight they would blaze with blue and white fires brighter than Helluin. And other crystals he made, wherein things far away could be seen small but clear, as with the eyes of the Eagles of Manwë. Seldom were the hand and mind of Fëanor at rest.1

§47Now at length the Noontide of Valinor drew to its close. For it came to pass that Melkor, as the Valar decreed, had dwelt for three ages in the duress of Mandos, alone. And when he had suffered that bondage, as the Valar had promised, he was brought again before them in conclave. He looked then upon the bliss and glory of the Valar, and malice was in his heart; he looked upon the fair Children of Ilúvatar that sat at the feet of the gods, and hatred filled him; he looked upon the wealth of bright gems and lusted for them; but he hid his thoughts and postponed his vengeance.

§48Before the gates of Valmar Melkor abased himself at the feet of Manwë and sued for pardon, promising that, if he might be made but the least of the free folk of Valinor, he would aid the Valar in all their deeds, and most of all in the healing of the many hurts that he had wrought and now would work no more. And Niënna aided his prayer, but Mandos was silent. Then Manwë granted him pardon; but the Valar would not yet suffer him to depart from their sight and vigilance. He was given, therefore, a humble dwelling within the gates of the city, and put on trial; and he was not permitted to go more than one league from Valmar, save by the leave of Manwë and with a guardian at his side. But fair-seeming were all the words and deeds of Melkor in that time, and both Valar and Eldar had much profit from his aid. Wherefore in a while he was allowed to go freely about the land, and it seemed to Manwë that his evil was cured. For he himself was free from the evil and could not comprehend it, and he knew that in the beginning, in the thought of

Eru, Melkor had been even as he. Yet it is said that Ulmo's heart misgave him, and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Melkor, his foe, go by. For if Tulkas is slow to wrath, slow is he also to forget.

§49Most fair of all was Melkor to the Eldar, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The Vanyar, indeed, the people of Ingwë, held him in suspicion; for Ulmo had warned them, and they heeded his words. But the Noldor took delight in the many things of hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them, and some hearkened to words that it would have been better that they should never have heard.

§49aIt has been said indeed that Fëanor learned much of Melkor in secret, but that doubtless is but one of the many lies of Melkor himself, envying the skill of Fëanor and desiring to claim part in his deeds. For certain it is that, snared though he might be (as others) by the lies of Melkor, none of all the Eldalië ever hated Melkor more than Fëanor son of Finwë, who first named him *Morgoth*.

§49bAnd in that time there was done the deed most renowned of all the works of the Elvenfolk. For Fëanor, being now come to his full might, was filled with a new thought, or maybe some shadow of foreknowledge came to him of the doom that should be; and he pondered how the Light of the Trees, the glory of the Blessed Realm, might be preserved imperishable. Then he began a long and marvellous labour; and he summoned all his lore, and his power, and his subtle craft, for he purposed now to make things more fair than any of the Eldar had yet made, whose beauty should last beyond the End.

Three jewels he made, and named them *Silmarils*. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the Light of the Two Trees. Of their own radiance they shone, even in the dark of the deepest treasury; yet all lights that fell upon them, however faint, they received and returned again in marvellous hues to which their own inner fire gave a surpassing loveliness. No mortal flesh, nor flesh unclean, nor any thing of evil will could touch them, but it was scorched and withered; neither could they be hurt or broken by any strength in all the kingdom of Arda. These jewels the Elves prized beyond all their works, and Varda hallowed them, and Mandos foretold that the fates of Arda, earth, sea, and air, lay locked within them. And the heart of Fëanor was fast bound to these things that he himself had made.

§50*But the heart of Melkor also desired these fairest of jewels; and from that time with desire the malice of Melkor grew ever greater, though nought of it could be seen in the semblance that he wore, or in the fair form that he assumed after the manner of the Valar his brethren. And when he saw his chances he sowed a seed of lies and hints of evil among all who were open to his converse. Bitterly did the people of the Noldor atone for their folly in the days to come. Coming often among them he would speak ever words of greatest praise, sweet but poisoned honey; for amid all the fair words others were ever subtly woven. Visions he would conjure in their hearts of the mighty realms they might have ruled at their own will, in power and freedom in the East. And then he would whisper, to any that leaned towards him, that the gods had brought the Eldar to Valinor because of their jealousy, fearing that the beauty of the Quendi, and the makers' power that Ilúvatar had bequeathed to them, would grow too great for the Valar to govern, as the Elves waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world.

In those days, moreover, though the Valar knew indeed of the coming of Men that were to be,2 the Elves knew yet nought of it; for the gods had not revealed it, and the time was not yet near. But Melkor spake to the Elves in secret of Mortal Men, though he knew little of the truth. Manwë alone knew aught clearly of the mind of Ilúvatar concerning Men, and he has ever been their friend. Yet Melkor whispered that the gods kept the Eldar captive, so that Men coming should defraud them of the kingdoms of Middle-earth; for the weaker and short-lived race the Valar saw would be more easily swayed by them. Small truth was there in this, and little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills or fates of Men, and least of all to good. But many of the Noldor believed, or half-believed, the evil words. [It is told, also, that at this time Melkor would speak to the Eldar of weapons and armour, and of the power that they give to him that is armed to defend his own (as he said). The Eldar had before possessed no weapons, and since the chaining of Melkor the armouries of the gods had been shut. But the Noldor now learned the fashioning of swords of tempered steel, and the making of bows and of arrows and of spears; and they made shields in those days and emblazoned them with devices of silver and gold and gems. Thus it was that the Noldor were armed in the days of their Flight. Thus too, as oft was seen, the evil of Melkor was turned against him; for the swords of the Gnomes did him more hurt than anything

under the gods upon this earth. Yet they had little joy of Melkor's teaching; for all the sorrows of the Gnomes they wrought with their own swords, as later shall be seen. Quoth Pengoloð.]

§51Thus, ere the gods were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Noldor began to murmur against the Valar and their kindred; and many became filled with vanity, forgetting all that the gods had given them and taught to them. Fiercest burned the flame in the eager heart of Fëanor, and Melkor laughed in his secrecy; for to that mark above all had his lies been addressed, and Fëanor he most hated, lusting all the while for the Silmarils. Yet never could he come nigh them; for though at great feasts Fëanor would wear them, blazing upon his brow, at other times they were guarded close, locked in the deep hoards of Túna. There were no thieves in Valinor, as yet; but Fëanor loved the Silmarils with a greedy love, and he began to grudge the sight of them to all save to his sire and to his sons.

§52High princes were Fëanor and Fingolfin, the elder sons of Finwë; but they grew proud and jealous each of his right, and his possessions. And lo! Melkor set new lies abroad, and whispers came to Fëanor that Fingolfin and his sons, Fingon and Turgon, were plotting to usurp the leadership of Finwë and of the elder house of Fëanor, and to supplant them by leave of the Valar — for the Valar were ill-pleased that the Silmarils lay in Túna, and were not given to their keeping. Of these lies quarrels were born among the proud children of Finwë, and of these quarrels came the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory; for Fëanor spake words of rebellion against the Valar, crying aloud that he would depart from Valinor back to the world without, and deliver, as he said, the Gnomes from thraldom, if they would follow him. And when Fingolfin sought to restrain him Fëanor drew his sword upon him.[3] For the lies of Melkor, though he knew not clearly their source, had taken root in the pride of his heart.

§53Then the Valar were wroth and dismayed, and[4] Fëanor was summoned to answer in the Ring of Doom; and there the lies of Melkor were laid bare for all those to see who had the will. By the judgement of the gods Fëanor was banished for twenty years[5] from Túna, since he had disturbed its peace. But with him went Finwë his father, who loved him more than his other sons, and many other Gnomes also. Northward in Valinor, in the hills near to the halls of Mandos, they built a strong place and a treasury at Formenos;[6] and

they gathered there a multitude of gems. But Fingolfin ruled the Noldor in Túna; and thus Melkor's words seemed justified (though Fëanor had wrought their fulfilment by his own deeds), and the bitterness that Melkor had sown endured, even though the lies were revealed, and long afterwards it lived still between the sons of Fëanor and Fingolfin.

§54Straight from the midst of their council the Valar sent Tulkas to lay hands on Melkor and bring him again to judgement, but Melkor hid himself, and none could discover whither he had gone; and the shadows of all standing things seemed to grow longer and darker in that time. It is said that for two years[7] none saw Melkor, until he appeared privily to Fëanor, feigning friendship with cunning argument, and urging him to his former thought of flight. But his cunning overreached his aim; for knowing that the jewels held the heart of Fëanor in thrall, he said at the last: 'Here is a strong place and well guarded, but think not that the Silmarils will lie safe in any treasury within reach of the Valar!'

Then the fires of the heart of Fëanor were kindled, and his eyes blazed, and his sight burned through all the fair-semblance of Melkor to the dark depths of his mind, and perceived there his fierce lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame Fëanor's fear, and he spoke shamefully to Melkor, saying: 'Get thee gone, gangrel! Thou jail-crow of Mandos!' And he shut the doors of his house upon the mightiest of all the dwellers in Eä, as though he were a beggar.

And Melkor departed in shame, for he was himself in peril, and saw not his time yet for revenge; but his heart was black with anger. And Finwë was filled with dread, and sent messengers in haste to the Valar.

§55Now the gods were sitting in council before their gates, fearing the lengthening of the shadows, when the messenger came from Finwë, but ere Tulkas could set forth others came that brought tidings from Eldanor. For Melkor had fled through the Kalakirya, and from the hill of Túna the Elves saw him pass in wrath as a thunder-cloud. Thus Melkor departed, and for a while the Trees shone again unshadowed, and still Valinor was fair; yet as a cloud far off that looms ever higher, borne upon a slow cold wind, a doubt now marred the mirth of all the dwellers in Aman, dreading they knew not what evil might yet come. And the Valar sought ever for news of Melkor, in vain. But he passed from Eldanor and[8] came into that region that is called Arvalin, which lies south of the Bay of

Elendë, and is a narrow land beneath the eastern feet of the Mountains of Aman. There the shadows were deepest and thickest in the World. In that land, secret and unknown, dwelt in spider's form Ungoliantë, weaver of dark webs. It is not told whence she came; from the Outer Darkness, maybe, that lies in Eä beyond the walls of the World. In a ravine she lived, and spun her webs in a cleft of the mountains; for she sucked up light and shining things to spin them forth again in black nets of choking gloom and clinging fog. She hungered ever for more food.

§56Melkor met Ungoliantë in Arvalin, and with her he plotted his revenge; but she demanded a great and terrible reward, ere she would dare the perils of Valinor and the power of the gods. Then, when Melkor had vowed to give all that she lusted for, she wove a great darkness about her for their protection, and black ropes she span, and cast from rocky peak to peak; and in this way she scaled at last the highest pinnacle of the mountains, far south of Taniquetil. In that region the vigilance of the Valar was less, because the wild woods of Oromë lay in the south of Valinor, and the walls of the mountains looked there eastward upon the untrodden land and empty seas; and the gods held guard rather against the North where of old Melkor had delved his fortress and deep throne.

For §§57–9 see the end of the commentary on this chapter, p. 193.

NOTES

1This passage concerning the gems devised by Fëanor (following 'yet this was the least of his works') was a secondary addition (see p. 184). See the commentary on §46c.

2From this point the virtually continuous newly written text changes to a heavily emended and interpolated treatment of the QS manuscript (p. 184).

3'drew his sword upon him' was changed from 'menaced him with his sword'.

4'Then the Valar were wroth and dismayed, and' was a secondary addition.

5'twenty years' was changed from 'ten years'.

6'at Formenos' was a secondary addition.

7'two years' was changed from 'a great while'.

8From this point the new work on the chapter effectively ceases,

and the few differences from QS belong to the earlier layer of emendation that was taken up into LQ 1; but I give the text to the end of §56 in order to take in the majority of these earlier changes.

Commentary on Chapter 6, 'Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor'

A comparison will show that the new writing in LQ stands in close relation to the corresponding part of AAm. New elements in LQ appear also in AAm, such as Fëanor's mother Míriel (§78, p. 92), the devising of letters by Rúmil and Fëanor (§§80, 83), or the placing of the making of the Silmarils after the release of Melkor (p. 104, §92). There are constant similarities of wording and many actual identities of phrase (notably in the encounter of Fëanor with Melkor at Formenos, LQ §54, AAm §102).

Can precedence be established between the two? It is scarcely possible to demonstrate it one way or the other, for individual details tell in both ways. Thus Fëanor's word to Melkor, 'gangrel', was that first written in LQ, whereas in AAm it replaced 'beggarman'; but 'the Valar were wroth and dismayed' is an addition to LQ (note 4), whereas 'the Gods were wroth' in AAm (§99) was not. The change in LQ of 'ten years' to 'twenty years' as the term of Fëanor's banishment from Tirion (note 5) is a change also in AAm (§99 and note 10), and the name Formenos is an addition in both. I think in fact that the two texts were closely contemporary. It will be seen that after the revision in LQ has come to an end AAm continues on (from §105) in the same larger and more expansive fashion obviously based structurally on the *Quenta* tradition: and it may be therefore that the LQ text petered out because the 'Annals' (scarcely 'Annals' any more) had become my father's preference.

How he conceived the relation between the two at this time seems impossible to say. As I have said (p. 102), 'we see the annal form disappearing as a fully-fledged narrative emerges'; and the AAm narrative, while differing in every sentence from the *Silmarillion* version, is nonetheless very obviously 'the same'. Certainly too similar to it to be regarded as the representation of a separate tradition of learning and memory, or even of the work of a different 'loremaster'. There are only the most minor variations in

the two narratives (for example, in LQ the messengers came to Valinor telling that Melkor had fled through the Kalakirya before Tulkas had set out in pursuit (§55), whereas in AAm the messengers came 'ere Oromë and Tulkas had ridden far' (§104)); and there is constant echoing of vocabulary and phrasing. See further on this topic pp. 289–91.

§46b*Byrde Míriel* (in the footnote to the text): cf. AAm §78 (p. 92), where Fëanor's mother (in a replacement entry) is given, rather oddly, the Old English 'surname' *Byrde*, not *Serende*, in the text itself and without reference to Ælfwine.

§46cThe passage in AAm §83 (p. 92 and note 5) concerning Fëanor's study of the making of gems by skill was an addition, as was that in the present text (note 1 above); the idea is associated with the change from the devising of gems by the Noldor to their obtaining them from the ground of Aman (see LQ §40 and commentary).

With the mention of the 'crystals … wherein things far away could be seen small but clear' (not referred to in AAm) cf. Gandalf's words in *The Two Towers* (III.11): 'The *palantíri* came from beyond Westernesse, from Eldamar. The Noldor made them. Fëanor himself, maybe, wrought them, in days so long ago that the time cannot be measured in years.'

§49aCf. AAm §123 (p. 108): 'Then Fëanor rose up and cursed Melkor, naming him *Morgoth*'. In AAm *Melkor* is used throughout until the time when Fëanor named him Morgoth (p. 123, §123); so also in the revision of QS the use of *Morgoth* before this point in the narrative was changed to *Melkor*.

§49bThe passage concerning the Silmarils corresponds in content to the latter part of QS §46; for, as in AAm, the making of the Silmarils now comes after the release of Melkor.

§50The passage on the arming of the Elves is no longer given as a footnote, and is moved to a different place from that in QS (§49); but it is enclosed within brackets and attributed to Pengoloð. The text is at this point in any case extremely disordered, since it consists partly of new writing and partly of passages retained from the original QS text. The old note was largely written out afresh, though it was not greatly changed from the earlier form: the chief difference being that whereas it was said in QS that the Elves had previously possessed 'weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows'

it is now told (as in AAm, p. 96, §97) that they had no weapons before this time. See further p. 281.

§52On Fëanor's drawing his sword on Fingolfin see p. 104, §98. — It is curious that (despite §46b 'in Tirion upon the crown of Túna') here 'the Silmarils lay *in Túna*', and again in §53 'Fingolfin ruled the Noldor *in Túna*'. The same is found in AAm (p. 90, §67), and much later (see p. 282).

§55The words 'in Eä', not found in LQ 1, belong with the later work on the QS manuscript as presented in the text given above (see note 8). On the words 'the Outer Darkness … that lies in Eä beyond the walls of the World' see pp. 62–4.

§§57–9In the last paragraphs of the chapter, not given in the text (p. 191), changes made to QS were:

§57:*Morgoth* > *Melkor*, and at all subsequent occurrences.

§58:*Tûn* > *Túna; the shores of Elvenhome* > *the shores of Eldamar; Silpion* > *Telperion; protected by fate omitted; With his black spear* > *Suddenly with his black spear; leaf and branch and root* > *root and leaf and bough*; and at the end of the paragraph (after *she swelled to monstrous form*) was added: *but still she was athirst. She drank therefore also of the vats of Varda, and drained them utterly*.

§59:their feet > *the feet of the hunters; escaped the hunt* > *escaped them.*

I have noticed earlier (p. 142) that much later (after the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*) my father turned to new narrative writing within the body of the *Quenta Silmarillion:* beginning with Chapter 1, which became the *Valaquenta*, and then jumping to the present chapter, 6. A new story of ramifying implications, that of the death of Fëanor's mother Míriel and Finwë's second marriage to Indis of the Vanyar, had now entered; but this further and final development is here postponed (see pp. 205 ff.).

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7 OF THE FLIGHT OF THE NOLDOR

The textual history of this chapter is relatively simple (for the late

rewriting just referred to, which extends some little way into it, see pp. 292 ff.). The original chapter in QS (V.232–8, where it is numbered 5) was corrected, not very extensively, at the time of the 1951 revision, and as corrected was typed in the amanuensis text LQ 1. This received no corrections at all, but on the later amanuensis typescript LQ 2 my father made a few changes, mostly the regular alteration of names. In this case I do not give the revised text, but record individually the significant changes made to QS. Various small changes of wording are not mentioned, nor are regular name-changes as *Melko* > *Melkor*, *Tûn* > *Túna* or *Tirion*, *Kôr* > *Túna*, *the pass of Kôr* > *the pass of Kalakiryan*, *Elwë* > *Olwë*. In §69 *western land* > *Westland and Helkaraksë* > *Helkaraxë* (so spelt in AAm), in §70 *strands of Elvenhome* > *strands of Eldanor*, and in §71 *Eruman* > *Araman* (cf. AAm §125, pp. 108, 123).

§60 At the first three occurrences 'Morgoth' > 'Melkor', and at the end of the paragraph, after 'the violence of Morgoth', was added: 'for such was his name from that day forth among the Gnomes'; thereafter 'Morgoth' was retained. At the foot of the page my father noted: 'In more ancient form *Moringotto*'. It was here that the story entered that Melkor received the name *Morgoth* at this time, though there was no suggestion yet that it was Fëanor who gave it to him. That entered in AAm (§123) and in the contemporary rewriting of Chapter 6 (p. 186, §49a); no doubt at the same time my father struck out on the QS manuscript the addition just given and substituted: 'So Fëanor called him in that hour: the Black Foe, and that name he bore among the Noldor ever after.' *Morgoth* was translated 'the Dark Enemy' in the AAm passage, but for some reason this was rejected (p. 120, note 2).

The sentence in §60 'a thing before unseen that in the gathering night had seemed to be a spider of monstrous form' was changed to 'a thing before unseen for which no word was known, a vast shape of darkness black in the gathering night'; cf. AAm §122. The Valar are to be wholly ignorant of the nature of the aid that Melkor had summoned (cf. AAm §124), and the Darkness (or 'Unlight') of Ungoliantë becomes a central idea of the legend.

§62 The passage concerning the Orcs, from 'he brought into being the race of the Orcs' to the end of the paragraph, was

rewritten as follows:

> he brought into being the race of the Orkor,* and they grew and multiplied in the bowels of the earth. These creatures Morgoth made in envy and mockery of the Elves. Therefore in form they were like unto the Children of Ilúvatar, yet foul to look upon; for they were made in hatred, and with hatred they were filled. Their voices were as the clashing of stones, and they laughed not, save only at torment and cruel deeds. *Glamhoth*, the hosts of tumult, the Noldor called them.
>
> * [footnote to the text] In Gnomish speech this name is *orch* of one, *yrch* of many. *Orcs* we may name them, for in the ancient days they were strong and fell as demons; yet they were of other kind, a spawn of earth corrupted by the power of Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant: quoth Ælfwine.

This is closely related to AAm §127, as that was first written (see pp. 120–1, notes 5–7, and commentary p. 123), and contains the same conjunction of two apparently different theories, that the Orcs were 'made' by Morgoth and that they were 'a spawn of earth' corrupted by him.

My father then altered the passage by cutting out Ælfwine's footnote to the word *Orkor* but adding a closely similar passage in the body of the text, thus:

> *Glamhoth*, the hosts of tumult, the Noldor called them. Orcs we may name them;* for in ancient days they were strong and fell as demons. Yet they were not of demon-kind, but a spawn of earth corrupted by Morgoth, and they could be slain or destroyed by the valiant with weapons of war.
>
> * [footnote to the text] Quoth Ælfwine.

This rearrangement is puzzling, for Ælfwine's contribution can hardly be limited to the words 'Orcs we may name them' (see p. 124); but perhaps by placing the asterisk at this point my father meant to indicate that all that follows it was added by Ælfwine. On the LQ typescript he changed it again, putting the whole passage from 'Orcs we may name them' into a footnote.

On the QS manuscript he scribbled later, against the first part of the passage, concerning the making of the Orcs: 'Alter this.

See *Annals*.' This refers to the change introduced into AAm whereby the Orcs had been bred from captured Quendi many ages before: see the commentary on AAm §127 (p. 123).

§67'masters of the enchanted light' > 'masters of the unsullied Light'; cf. AAm §133 'lords of the unsullied Light'.

§68'But of his own sons Inglor alone spake with him [Finrod]; Angrod and Egnor took the part of Fëanor, and Orodreth stood aside' > 'But of his own children Inglor alone spoke in like manner; for Angrod and Egnor and Galadriel were with Fingon, whereas Orodreth stood aside and spoke not.' As AAm was first written the same account of the associations of the Noldorin princes was given, but it was changed immediately: see AAm §135 (pp. 112, 125), and p. 121, note 12.

'and with Fingolfin were Finrod and Inglor' > 'and with Fingolfin were Finrod and his house'

§72The whole of this paragraph was rewritten as follows:

> Then Finrod turned back, being filled with grief, and with bitterness against the house of Fëanor because of his kinship with Olwë of Alqualondë; and many of his people went with him, retracing their steps in sorrow, until they beheld once more the far beam of the Mindon upon Túna, still shining in the night, and so came at last to Valinor again. And they received the pardon of the Valar, and Finrod was set to rule the remnant of the Noldor in the Blessed Realm. But his sons were not with him, for they would not forsake the sons of Fingolfin; and all Fingolfin's folk went forward still, fearing to face the doom of the gods, since not all of them had been guiltless of the kinslaying at Alqualondë. Moreover Fingon and Turgon, though they had no part in that deed, were bold and fiery of heart and loath to abandon any task to which they had put their hands until the bitter end, if bitter it must be. So the main host held on, and all too swiftly the evil that was foretold began its work.

This is almost word for word the same as AAm §156, the only real difference being the mention here that Fingon and Turgon had no part in the kinslaying. That the rewriting of QS preceded the passage in AAm, however, is shown by the fact that *Olwë* is here a later change from *Elwë*.

§73 ‘and they took with them only such as were faithful to their house, among whom were Angrod and Egnor’ was left unchanged, through oversight, and survived into the typescript LQ 2. The association of Angrod and Egnor with the Fëanorians (so that they were given passage to Middle-earth in the ships) had been abandoned in the rewritings of QS §§68, 72 given above.

‘a great burning, terrible and bright’ > ‘a great burning, terrible and bright, at the place that was after called Losgar, at the outlet of the Firth of Drengist’. The same addition was made to AAm (§162, pp. 120, 127, and p. 122 note 20).

‘Therefore led by Fingolfin, and Fingon, Turgon, and Inglor’ > ‘Therefore led by Fingolfin and his sons, and by Inglor and Galadriel the fair and valiant’; this is virtually the text of AAm (§163, p. 120).

‘and came unto Beleriand at the rising of the sun’ > ‘and came unto Middle-earth at the rising of the Moon’; cf. AAm §163 (pp. 120, 127).

Emendations made to one or other of the copies of the typescript LQ 2 give the later names or name-forms of certain of the Noldorin princes, as in Chapter 5 (pp. 177, 181, §§41–2): *Finrod* > *Finarphin* and *Finarfin*, *Inglor* > *Finrod*, *Egnor* > *Ægnor* (as emended in Chapter 5 spelt *Aegnor)*. — In ‘his ancient fortress, Utumno in the North’ (§62) *Utumno* > *Angband*; this reflects the late story that both Utumno and Angband were built in the ancient days (see p. 156, §12) — and it was of course to the western fortress, Angband, that Melkor returned and which he rebuilt from its ruins.

Against the passage in §68 ‘The greater part marched behind Fingolfin, who with his sons yielded to the general voice against their wisdom, because they would not desert their people’ my father noted on a copy of LQ 2: ‘also because of the promise made by Fingolfin (above)’. This refers to a passage in the final rewriting of the previous chapter (p. 287, §58c), where Fingolfin said to Fëanor before Manwë: ‘Thou shalt lead and I will follow.’ The word ‘above’ means that the final text was in being and had been incorporated into the LQ 2 typescript.

8 OF THE SUN AND MOON AND THE HIDING OF VALINOR

The textual situation here is the simplest so far: we have the chapter in QS (V.239–43), and emendations made to QS in 1951, taken up into the typescript LQ 1, which was not emended subsequently. (A few lightly pencilled alterations were not incorporated in LQ 1, either because the typist could not interpret them or because they were entered on the manuscript subsequently.) As with Chapter 6 (p. 184) the later typescript LQ 2 is not extant. The history of this chapter in *The Silmarillion* therefore ends with the few changes made to QS in 1951; there is also the account in AAm §§164–81, which was itself closely derived from QS, with changes and omissions. In this case again I give the significant changes made to QS and not the whole text. Regular changes of name are (§79) *Kalakilya* > *Kalakiryan*, *the mound of Kôr* > *the mound of Túna.*

§74The passage beginning 'And Manwë bade Yavanna …' was changed to a form almost identical with AAm §167 (p. 129):

> And Manwë bade Yavanna and Nienna to put forth all their powers of growth and healing; and they put forth all their powers upon the Trees, but the tears of Nienna availed not to heal their mortal wounds; and for a long while Yavanna sang on alone in the shadows. Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered in the dark, lo! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single golden fruit.

§75The passage giving the names of the Sun and Moon was changed to a form intermediate between QS and AAm §171:

> Isil the Sheen the gods of old named the Moon in Valinor, and Anar Fire-golden they named the Sun; but the Eldar named them also Rána the wayward, the giver of visions, and [Úrin >] Naira, the heart of flame, that awakens and consumes.

Thus *Úrin* > *Anar* (with changed meaning, 'Fire-golden'), as in AAm, but this and *Isil* remain names given by the Gods, not by the Vanyar; *Úrin* was at first changed about with *Anar* and made the Eldarin name of the Sun, but was then replaced by *Naira (Vása* in AAm). *Rána* (replacing *Răna*) and *Naira* remain Eldarin names, whereas in AAm *Rána* and *Vása* are Noldorin.

'The maiden chosen from among their own folk by the Valar' > 'The maiden whom the Valar chose from among the

Maiar' (agreeing with AAm §172).

Pencilled in the margin against *Arien* (above the original marginal gloss by Ælfwine *hyrned* 'horned' to the name Tilion, V.240, footnote) is the unrecorded Old English word *Dægbore* ('Day-bearer', feminine). In AAm (§172, marginal notes) the Old English words supplied by Ælfwine are *hyrned* and *dægred* (daybreak, dawn).

'the pools lit by the flickering light of Silpion' > 'the pools of Estë in Telperion's flickering beams' (agreeing with AAm §172). *Silpion* > *Telperion* subsequently (see p. 59, §5).

§76 'Răna was first wrought' > 'Isil was first wrought' (as AAm §173).

'Melko' > 'Morgoth', because he is to be known as *Morgoth* from the point in the narrative where he is given that name (p. 194, §60).

§77 'the prayers of Lórien and Nienna' > 'the prayers of Lorien and Estë' (as AAm §175).

'Varda changed her design' > 'Varda changed her counsel' (as AAm §175).

The entire passage beginning at 'is the hour of greatest light' and continuing to §79 'the Valar store the radiance of the Sun in many vessels' was put into the past tense (cf. AAm §§175–8).

§78 *Eruman* > *Aruman* (not *Araman),* Since *Eruman* was changed to *Araman* in the revision made at this time to an earlier page in QS (§71) *Aruman* here is no doubt merely an incomplete alteration.

§79 Rewriting of the passage in QS beginning 'That light lives now only in the Silmarils' removed at last the ancient idea of the 'rekindling' of 'the Elder Sun and Moon, which are the Trees' (for the history of this see 11.285–6, IV.20, 49, 98), or at least restricted it to a foretelling of the recovery of the Silmarils; but the strange prophecy of Ulmo that this would only come to pass through the aid of Men was retained. To none of this is there anything corresponding in AAm. The changed passage reads:

> That light lives now only in the Silmarils; though there shall yet come a time, maybe, when they are found again and their fire released, and the ancient joy and glory return. Ulmo foretold to the Valar …'

The sentence (not in AAm, §180) ‘the fleet of the Teleri kept the shore’ was changed to ‘rebuilt with Ossë’s aid, the fleet of the Teleri kept the shore’.

§80‘the Bay of Elvenhome’ > ‘The Bay of Eldanor’.

It seems to me very probable that my father made these changes to QS before he wrote the section on the Sun and Moon in the *Annals of Aman*; in any case they were doubtless closely contemporary.

(II) THE SECOND PHASE

An acute problem of presentation arose in the treatment of the late expanded version of Chapter 6 *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* (see pp. 142, 184 ff.), in that the first part of the new text was based on and developed in stages from a major independent disquisition concerning the nature of the Eldar. Arising out of an account of their marriage laws and customs, this discussion extends into a lengthy analysis of the meaning of death, immortality and rebirth in respect of the Elves. I found that to give the late narrative text of Chapter 6 immediately following the text of the ‘first phase’ version, postponing the long and remarkable essay from which it derives, was extremely confusing; while to introduce the essay into the series of ‘first phase’ chapters made matters worse. For this reason I have divided this part of the book into two sections, and give here separately the late narrative versions of Chapters 1, 6, and a part of 7 together with the essay on the Eldar. To date these writings (and those given in Part Four) with any real precision seems impossible on the evidence that I know of, but such as there is points clearly in most cases to the late 1950s and not much later (for detailed discussion see p. 300).

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THE VALAQUENTA

Of the final, enlarged form of the old Chapter 1, the *Valaquenta* (abbreviated **Vq**), there are two texts, both of them typescripts made by my father (Vq 1 and Vq 2). Vq 1 begins as a copy of LQ 2, but very soon diverges, and with the introduction of much new matter becomes in several parts entirely distinct. Though

typewritten it is very much a draft text, confused and (at any rate as it exists now) incomplete. It was followed, I would think immediately, by the finished text Vq 2.

Vq 1 is headed like the preceding versions, 'QUENTA SILMARILLION. Here begins the *Silmarillion*, or the History of the Silmarils. I. Of the Valar.' Vq 2, on the other hand, is headed 'VALAQUENTA. Here is the Account of the Valar and Maiar according to the Lore of the Eldar.' That the original first chapter of *The Silmarillion* had become a separate entity like the *Ainulindalë* is shown, apart from the new title, by the fact that to the final text (LQ 2) of the next chapter, *Of Valinor and the Two Trees*, a title-page (together with a page carrying the preamble, Ælfwine's note, and the Translator's note) was attached, and the chapter numbered '1'. This title-page is virtually the same as that in the old QS typescript (see V.202), with the heading *'Eldanyárë'* and beneath '*Quenta Silmarillion',* the division into three parts, and the forms *Pennas Silevril, Yénie Valinóren, Inias Valannor* (where however the old typescript was changed to *Balannor*), and *Inias Beleriand.* The fact that it was taken from the original *'Eldanyárë'* text suggests that it really belonged to LQ 1 (whose title-page is missing, p. 143). It is true that it was typed at the same time as the rest of LQ 2, but I imagine that (having decided to separate off the *Valaquenta*) my father at this time gave the title-page of LQ 1 to the typist of LQ 2 to copy, after which it was mislaid and lost. It seems odd that he should have done this; at least one might have expected him to change the second element from *The Annals of Valinor* to *The Annals of Aman.* He did indeed make some pencilled emendations to it: *Yénie Valinóren* to *Yénie Valinóreo* (and beneath this *Valinóre Yénie),* and *Inias Valannor* to *Ínias Dor-Rodyn.*

Essentially, Vq 1 was the innovating version, and Vq 2 refined stylistically on the new material, although in any given case it is possible that Vq 1 was as LQ 2 and that Vq 2 introduced the new text; however, I treat this detail as largely immaterial. In what follows I comment on notable features arising from a comparison between the *Valaquenta* and LQ (that is, the corrected text of LQ 1 given on pp. 144–7, referred to by the numbered paragraphs, together with the emendations made to its copy LQ 2 given on pp. 148–9). The text of the *Valaquenta* is found in the published *Silmarillion* (references are to the original hardback edition, 1977). Since a number of editorial changes were made to the text of the

Valaquenta I notice certain points of substance in which they differ.

§1 The words ‘Let it be!’ were not included in the Vq texts (see p. 148, §1).

§2 Nearly all of this paragraph concerning the Maiar and the confusion with Elves (as emended in LQ 2) still survived in Vq 1, but was eliminated in Vq 2 (the first part of it reappearing, rewritten, at the beginning of the section ‘Of the Maiar’). The end of the paragraph, concerning the making of the Children of Eru, was eliminated in Vq 2 and does not reappear.

§3 Vq 1 as typed followed LQ exactly in the list of the ‘chieftains of the Valar’ (with *Lóriën* as in LQ 2 for earlier *Lorien*), but a list of the seven queens *(Valier*) was also given: Varda, Yavanna, Niënna, Vána, Vairë, Nessa, Uinen (agreeing with the table given on p. 151). In Vq 1 the nine ‘chieftains’ became by emendation seven: Melkor and Ossë were removed (and Oromë’s place changed, so that he stands after Aulë); this is the number and order of ‘the Lords of the Valar’ in Vq 2 and in the published work (p. 25). Also by emendation to Vq 1 the queens lose Uinen but gain Estë, who is placed after Niënna, and Vána is set after Vairë; this again was the final form. These changes, both to Valar and Valier, were made also to the typescript of AAm (p. 69, §§1–2). The names *Vána* and *Niënna* are given thus in Vq 2.

The sentence in LQ ‘though they have other or altered names in the speech of the Sindar’ was retained in Vq 1 with the addition of ‘in Middle-earth’, but changed in Vq 2 to ‘though they have other names in the speech of the Elves in Middle-earth.’

§4 *(Varda*) The history of the phrase ‘With Manwë dwells Varda’ *(The Silmarillion* p. 26) is curious. QS §4 has ‘With him dwells as wife Varda …’; by emendation to LQ 1 it became ‘With him *in Arda* dwells as spouse Varda …’; and in Vq it is ‘With Manwë *now* dwells as spouse Varda …’ In 1975, when the main work on the text of the published *Silmarillion* was done, being then much less clear than I have since become about certain dates and textual relations (and ignorant of the existence of some texts), I did not see that this ‘now’ could have any significance, and moreover it contributed to the problem of tense in the *Valaquenta*, which is discussed below;

I therefore omitted it. It is however undoubtedly significant. In AAm it is said (p. 49, §3): 'Varda was Manwë's spouse *from the beginning*', in contrast to the later 'union' of Yavanna and Aulë 'in Ëa' (on which see under §5 below). But the typescript text of AAm was emended (p. 69, §3) to 'Varda was Manwë's spouse *from the beginning of Arda',* which shows that some complex conception was present (though never definitively expressed) concerning the time of the 'union' of the great spirits.

In the new, much extended passage concerning Varda, Vq 1 has 'She speaks seldom in words, save to Manwë', where Vq 2 followed by the published text (p. 26) has 'Manwë and Varda are seldom parted, and they remain in Valinor.'

(Ulmo) The long new passage concerning Ulmo entered in Vq 1, which has some interesting differences from the final form: it is said that Ulmo 'had less need of the light of the Trees or of any resting-place', and that 'his counsels grew ever away from the mind of Manwë (whom nonetheless he obeyed)': cf. the *Ainulindalë* (p. 13, §18), 'Manwë and Ulmo have from the beginning been allied, and in all things have served most faithfully the purpose of Ilúvatar'. In both Vq texts his horns are called *Falarombar*, changed on the Vq 2 typescript to *Ulumúri*; cf. the original name of the horn of Oromë, *Rombaras* (p. 35, §34), and the *Etymologies*, V.384, stem ROM.

(Ossë and Uinen) The passage concerning Ossë and Uinen, much enlarged, now appears in the section 'Of the Maiar', since they have ceased to be numbered among the Valar (see under §3 above).

§5 *(Aulë)* In the words (referring to Melkor and Aulë) 'Both, also, desired to make things of their own that should be new and unthought of by others' (*The Silmarillion* p. 27) there is very probably a reflection of the legend of Aulë's making of the Dwarves.

(Yavanna) Here again, as with Varda (§4 above), I wrongly changed the text concerning Yavanna's union with Aulë. Both Vq texts have 'The spouse of Aulë *in Arda* is Yavanna', and the words 'in Arda' are certainly significant (see V.120).

'Some there are who have seen her standing like a tree under heaven' recalls the later versions of the *Ainulindalë*,

where it is Pengoloð himself who declares to Ælfwine that he has so seen her ‘long years agone, in the land of the Valar’ (p. 15, §25).

The name *Kementári* is found as a correction of *Palúrien* in LQ 2, Chapter 2 (p. 157, §14).

§6*(Mandos)* The editorial change of ‘northward’ to ‘westward’ in ‘Námo the elder dwells in Mandos, which is northward in Valinor’ in the published text (p. 28) is a regrettable error, which I have explained in I.82. — It may be noted here that in the passage in §9 concerning Niënna the change of ‘the halls of Mandos, which are nearer and yet more northward’ (found from QS to LQ 2) to ‘the halls of Mandos, which are near to her own’ is not editorial, but is found in the Vq texts.

§7*(Tulkas)* The sentence ‘He came last to Arda, to aid the Valar in the first battles with Melkor’ only entered with Vq 2, but derives from the later *Ainulindalë* (§31).

§8*(Oromë)* In emendation to one copy only of LQ 2 the name *Aldaron* of Oromë was lost (see p. 149, §8), and it does not appear in either text of Vq. It should not have been reintroduced into the published text (p. 29). The sentence *(ibid.)* ‘by the Sindar Tauron’ derives from LQ 2 and Vq 1, but was in fact changed in Vq 2 to ‘Tauron he is called in Middle-earth’; cf. under §3 above, where ‘Sindar’ was also removed in Vq 2. The translation of *Tauron* should be ‘the Lord of the Forests’.

The name *Nahar* of Oromë’s horse first appears in AAm §31 (p. 70). — After the words ‘for the pursuit of the evil creatures of Melkor’ (*The Silmarillion* p. 29) the Vq texts have ‘But the Valaróma is not blown, and Nahar runs no more upon the Middle-earth since the change of the world and the waning of the Elves, whom he loved.’ This sentence goes back through the versions to QS (though the Valaróma does not appear in it till LQ 2 and Nahar not till Vq), and I regret its exclusion from *The Silmarillion*.

§9*(Niënna)* The account of Niënna appears at an earlier point in Vq (following the Fëanturi, to whom she is now ‘akin’) than it had in previous versions. The words ‘sister of the Fëanturi’ were changed editorially from Vq ‘sister of Námo’ (see p. 151, §9).

At the end of the account of the Valar and Valier appears the name

and conception of the *Aratar*, the High Ones of Arda, of whom there are eight after the removal of Melkor. This contrasts with the conception of 'the Seven Great Ones of the Realm of Arda' (p. 147, §10a), among whom Melkor is numbered, but not Oromë, nor Mandos.

§§10a,b *Of the Maiar*. The words in the published text (p. 30) concerning Eönwë, 'whose might in arms is surpassed by none in Arda', were an editorial addition, made in order to prepare for his leadership of the hosts of the West at the Great Battle (*The Silmarillion* pp. 251–2). For the end of the Elder Days there is scarcely any material from the period following *The Lord of the Rings*.

(Melian) In LQ 2 Melian was said to be 'of the people of Yavanna'; see p. 147, §10b.

(Olórin) At the end of the account of Olórin is scribbled on the typescript Vq 1: 'He was humble in the Land of the Blessed; and in Middle-earth he sought no renown. His triumph was in the uprising of the fallen, and his joy was in the renewal of hope.' This appears in Vq 2, but my father subsequently placed inverted commas round it. It was wrongly omitted from *The Silmarillion* (p. 31).

Of the Enemies. In this almost entirely new section appears the conception that the Balrogs *(Valaraukar)* were powerful spirits from before the World; so also in AAm* (p. 79, §30) the Balrogs are described as the chief of 'the evil spirits that followed [Melkor], the Úmaiar'. See further p. 165, §18.

The *Valaquenta* texts end thus, and speak of the Marring of Arda, the underlying concern of many of the writings given subsequently in this book:

> Here ends *The Valaquenta*. If it has passed from the high and beautiful to darkness and ruin, that was of old the fate of Arda Marred; and if any change shall come and the Marring be amended, Manwë and Varda may know; but they have not revealed it, and it is not declared in the dooms of Mandos.

The Second Prophecy of Mandos (V.333) had now therefore definitively disappeared. This passage was used to form a conclusion to the published *Silmarillion* (p. 255).

In my foreword to *The Silmarillion* I wrote that in the *Valaquenta* 'we have to assume that while it contains much that must go back to the earliest days of the Eldar in Valinor, it was remodelled in

later times; and thus explain its continual shifting of tense and viewpoint, so that the divine powers seem now present and active in the world, now remote, a vanished order known only to memory.'

The problem of tense in this work is certainly very difficult. Already in Q (IV.78–9) the shifting from past to present tense appears, where Ossë and Uinen and Nienna are described in the present, in contrast to all the others, while Ulmo 'was' next in might to Manwë, but he 'dwells' alone in the Outer Seas. In QS (see V.208) the present tense is used, almost though not exclusively — but 'Tulkas *had* great love for Fionwë' early became *'has',* and 'Oromë *was* a mighty lord' became 'Oromë *is'* in the 1951 revision.

With the additions and alterations made in the course of that revision the variations continue. In LQ §10a, for instance, 'there *are* nine Valar', contrasting with the original passage in §3, 'The chieftains of the Valar *were* nine', which goes back through QS to Q; or in the passage about the Maiar in §10b 'Among them Eonwë … and Ilmarë … *were* the chief', but 'Many others there *are*' (altered from '*were*'). The same mixture of present and past is found in AAm* (p. 65, §3).

The situation remains the same in the Vq texts, and in preparing the *Valaquenta* for publication I altered (with misgiving and doubt) some of the tenses. The readings of the published work which were altered from those in Vq are:

> p. 25: 'The Lords of the Valar *are* seven; and the Valier … *are* seven also'; 'The names of the Lords in due order *are*'; 'the names of the Queens *are*'
>
> p. 26: 'Manwë *is* dearest to Ilúvatar and *understands* most clearly his purposes'; 'he *hated* her, and *feared* her'
>
> p. 27: 'Ulmo *loves* both Elves and Men'
>
> p. 28: 'The Fëanturi… *are* brethren'
>
> p. 30: 'it *is* otherwise in Aman'; 'Chief among the Maiar … *are* Ilmarë … and Eönwë'

In all these cases, except 'he hated her, and feared her' on p. 26, the tense was changed from past to present. The change on p. 28 seems in any case mistaken (cf. p. 26, 'Manwë and Melkor were brethren in the thought of Ilúvatar'); and to make any of them was probably a misjudgement. But the problem is real. A leading consideration in the preparation of the text was the achievement of coherence and consistency; and a fundamental problem was uncertainty as to the mode by which in my father's later thought the 'Lore of the Eldar'

had been transmitted. But I now think that I attached too much importance to the aim of consistency, which may be present when not evident, and was too ready to deal with 'difficulties' simply by eliminating them.

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THE EARLIEST VERSION OF THE STORY OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL

The story of Finwë and Míriel, which would assume an extraordinary importance in my father's later work on *The Silmarillion*, began as a rider in manuscript to the 'first phase' revision of Chapter 6, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*; it was inserted after the account of the marvellous skill of Míriel, called *Serende* 'the Broideress', mother of Fëanor, at the end of LQ §46b (p. 185). I shall refer to this rider as '**FM 1**' (i.e. the first text treating of the story of Finwë and Míriel in the *Quenta Silmarillion)*.

A curious feature of this text is the presence of marginal dates; and three late insertions to the *Annals of Aman* (p. 101, notes 1 and 4) are closely associated with it. The entry in AAm for the Valian Year 1179 (p. 92) gave the birth of Fëanor in Tirion and his mother's name *Byrde Míriel* Afterwards my father changed this date to 1169, and at the same time added these new annals:

Míriel falls asleep and passes to Mandar. 1170
Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar. 1172
Finwë weds Indis of the Vanyar. 1185

In the present rider to LQ the dates, which were a good deal changed, are the same, or the same to within a year or two. It is obvious that the insertions to AAm and the rider to LQ are contemporary; and while my father probably only put in the dates in the latter as a guide to his thought (they are absent from the subsequent texts of *Finwë and Míriel*), the fact that he did so seems a testimony to the closeness that the two 'modes' now had for him.

The text FM 1 was subsequently emended in ball-point pen; the changed readings are shown in the text that now follows. It may be noted here that at the first three occurrences of the name my father wrote *Mandar*, changing it before the text was completed to *Mandos.* The inserted entry in AAm for the year 1170, cited above, also has *Mandar.* Thus even this very long-established name, going

back to the earliest form of the legends, was still susceptible of change; but it was a passing movement and does not appear again.

Now it is told that in the bearing of her son Míriel was consumed in spirit and body; and that after his birth she yearned for rest from the labour of living. And she said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear a child; for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Fëanáro.'* Then Manwë granted the prayer of Míriel. And she went to Lorien, and laid her down to sleep upon a bed of flowers [> beneath a silver tree]; and there her fair body remained unwithered in the keeping of the maidens of Estë. But her spirit passed to rest in the halls of Mandos.

Finwë's grief was great, and he gave to his son all the love that he had for Míriel; for Feänáro was like his mother in voice and countenance. Yet Finwë was not content, and he desired to have more children. He spoke, therefore, [> After some years, therefore, he spoke] to Manwë, saying: 'Lord, behold! I am bereaved; and alone among the Eldar I am without a wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and no daughter. Whereas Ingwë and Olwë beget many children in the bliss of Aman. Must I remain ever so? For I deem that Míriel will not return again ever from the house of Vairë.'

Then Manwë considered the words of Finwë; and after a time he summoned all the counsellors of the Eldar, and in their hearing Mandos spoke this doom: 'This is the law of Ilúvatar for you [> This is the way of life that Ilúvatar hath ordained for you], his children, as you know well: the First-born shall take one spouse only and have no other in this life, while Arda endureth. But this law takes no account [> But herein no account is taken] of Death. This doom is therefore now made, by the right of lawgiving that Ilúvatar committed to Manwë: that if the spirit of a spouse, husband or wife, forsaking the body, shall for any cause pass into the keeping of Mandos, then the living shall be permitted to take another spouse. But this can only be, if the former union be dissolved for ever. Therefore the one that is in the keeping of Mandos must there remain until the end of Arda, and shall not awake again or take bodily form. For none among the Quendi shall have two spouses at one time alive and awake. But since it is not to be thought that the living shall, by his or her will alone, confine the spirit of the other to Mandos, this disunion shall come to pass only

by the consent of both. And after the giving of the consent ten years of the Valar shall pass ere Mandos confirms it. Within that time either party may revoke this consent; but when Mandos has confirmed it, and the living spouse has wedded another, it shall be irrevocable until the end of Arda. This is the doom of Námo in this matter.'

It is said that Míriel answered Mandos saying: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it'; and after ten years the doom of disunion was spoken. [*Added:* And Míriel has dwelt ever since in the house of Vairë, and it is her part to record there the histories of the kin of Finwë and all the deeds of the Noldor.] And in the years following [> But when three years more had passed] Finwë took as second spouse Indis of the Vanyar, of the kin [> sister] of Ingwë; and she bore five fair children of whom her two sons are most renowned in the histories of the Noldor. But her eldest child was a daughter, Findis, and she bore also two other daughters: Írimë and Faniel [> Faniel and Írimë].

The wedding of the father was not pleasing to Feänáro; and though the love between them was not lessened, Feänáro had no great love for Indis or her children, and as soon as he might he lived apart from them, being busy from early childhood upon the lore and craft in which he delighted, and he laboured at many tasks, being in all pursuits eager and swift.

There is a direction here to return to LQ (at the beginning of §46c, p. 185) with the words 'For he grew swiftly …'

★

LAWS AND CUSTOMS AMONG THE ELDAR

As I have explained (p. 199), I have found that the best method of presenting the material is to give at this point the long essay concerning the nature and customs of the Eldar, although of course it cannot be said to be a part of the *Quenta Silmarillion.*

This work is extant in two versions, a completed manuscript ('**A**') and a revision of this in a typescript ('**B**') made by my father that was abandoned when somewhat less than halfway through. The two texts bear different titles, and since both are long I shall use an abbreviated form, *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (in

references later, simply *Laws and Customs)*. From the existence of the two versions arises a difficulty of presentation frequently encountered in my father's work. The typescript B, so far as it goes, follows the manuscript A pretty closely for the most part — too closely to justify printing them both in full, even if space allowed. On the other hand there are many points in which B differs significantly from A. The options are therefore to give A in full with important divergences in B in textual notes, or to give B as far as it goes with A's divergences in notes, and then the remainder from A. Since B is a clearer and improved text I have decided on the latter course.

It is not easy to say from what fictional perspective *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* was composed. There is a reference to the Elves who linger in Middle-earth 'in these after-days' (p. 223); on the other hand the writer speaks as if the customs of the Noldor were present and observable ('Among the Noldor it may be seen that the making of bread is done mostly by women', p. 214) — though this cannot be pressed. It is clear in any case that it is presented as the work, not of one of the Eldar, but of a Man: the observation about the variety of the names borne by the Eldar, 'which … may to us seem bewildering' (p. 216; found in both texts, in different words) is decisive. Ælfwine is indeed associated with the work, but in an extremely puzzling way. He does not appear at all in A as that was originally written; but among various corrections and alterations made in red ball-point pen (doubtless as a preliminary to the making of the typescript) my father wrote 'Ælfwine's Preamble' in the margin against the opening of the text — without however marking where this 'preamble' ended. In B the first two paragraphs are marked 'Ælfwine's Preamble' and placed within ornate brackets, and this very clearly belongs with the making of the typescript, although it is by no means obvious why the opening should be thus set apart; while later in B (p. 224) there is a long observation, set within similar brackets, that ends with the words 'So spoke Ælfwine' — but this passage is absent in any form from A.

There are no initial drafts or rough writings extant, and if none existed the manuscript text is remarkably clear and orderly, without much correction at the time of composition, though a good deal changed subsequently. It may be that it had been substantially

composed, the product of long thought, before it was first written down; at the same time, my impression is that my father had not fully planned its structure when he began. This is suggested by the curious way in which the judgement of Mandos in the case of Finwë and Míriel precedes the actual story of what led to the judgement (pp. 225–6, 236–9); while after the account of Finwë's marriage to Indis there follows the Debate of the Valar, although that was held before 'the Statute of Finwë and Míriel' was promulgated. It is hard to believe that my father can have intended this rather confusing structure, and the view that the work evolved as he wrote seems borne out by the title in A:

> Of the marriage laws and customs of the Eldar, their children, and other matters touching thereon

At the same time as the words 'Ælfwine's Preamble' and other corrections in red ball-point pen were made to the manuscript (see above) he wrote in bold letters beneath the title: 'The Statute of Finwë and Míriel' — almost as if this was to be the new title of the work as a whole, although the original one was not struck out.

The typescript B has the long title given at the beginning of the text below; the text in this version ends before the story of Finwë and Míriel and the Debate of the Valar is reached. Why my father abandoned it I cannot say; perhaps he was merely interrupted by some external cause, perhaps he was dissatisfied by its form.

But all these questions are very secondary to the import of the work itself: a comprehensive (if sometimes obscure, and tantalising in its obscurity) declaration of his thought at that time on fundamental aspects of the nature of the Quendi, distinguishing them from Men: the power of the incarnate *fëa* (spirit) in relation to the body; the 'consuming' of the body by the *fëa;* the destiny of Elvish spirits, ordained by Eru, 'to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda'; the meaning of death for such beings, and of existence after death; the nature of Elvish re-birth; and the consequences of the Marring of Arda by Melkor.

There follows now the typescript version B so far as it goes. At the end of the text (pp. 228 ff.) are notes largely limited to the textual relations of the two versions; these are necessarily very selective, and do not record the very many changes of wording in B

that modify or improve the expression without altering the sense of the original text in any important way. B itself was scarcely changed after it had been typed; but a pencilled note on the first page reads 'For *hrondo* read *hröa',* and this change was carried out in the greater part of the text. The word used in A for the body was *hrôn*, which became *hrondo* in the course of the writing of the manuscript.

OF THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS AMONG THE ELDAR PERTAINING TO MARRIAGE AND OTHER MATTERS RELATED THERETO: TOGETHER WITH THE STATUTE OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL AND THE DEBATE OF THE VALAR AT ITS MAKING

Ælfwine's Preamble

[The Eldar grew in bodily form slower than Men, but in mind more swiftly. They learned to speak before they were one year old; and in the same time they learned to walk and to dance, for their wills came soon to the mastery of their bodies. Nonetheless there was less difference between the two Kindreds, Elves and Men, in early youth; and a man who watched elf-children at play might well have believed that they were the children of Men, of some fair and happy people. For in their early days elf-children delighted still in the world about them, and the fire of their spirit had not consumed them, and the burden of memory was still light upon them.[1]

This same watcher might indeed have wondered at the small limbs and stature of these children, judging their age by their skill in words and grace in motion. For at the end of the third year mortal children began to outstrip the Elves, hastening on to a full stature while the Elves lingered in the first spring of childhood. Children of Men might reach their full height while Eldar of the same age were still in body like to mortals of no more than seven years.[2] Not until the fiftieth year did the Eldar attain the stature and shape in which their lives would afterwards endure, and for some a hundred years would pass before they were full-grown.]

The Eldar wedded for the most part in their youth and soon after their fiftieth year. They had few children, but these were very dear to them. Their families, or houses, were held together by love and a deep feeling for kinship in mind and body; and the children needed little governing or teaching.[3] There were seldom more than four

children in any house, and the number grew less as ages passed; but even in days of old, while the Eldar were still few and eager to increase their kind, Fëanor was renowned as the father of seven sons, and the histories record none that surpassed him.[4]

The Eldar wedded once only in life, and for love or at the least by free will upon either part. Even when in after days, as the histories reveal, many of the Eldar in Middle-earth became corrupted, and their hearts darkened by the shadow that lies upon Arda, seldom is any tale told of deeds of lust among them.[5]

Marriage, save for rare ill chances or strange fates, was the natural course of life for all the Eldar. It took place in this way. Those who would afterwards become wedded might choose one another early in youth, even as children (and indeed this happened often in days of peace); but unless they desired soon to be married and were of fitting age, the betrothal awaited the judgement of the parents of either party.

In due time the betrothal was announced at a meeting of the two houses concerned,[6] and the betrothed gave silver rings one to another. According to the laws of the Eldar this betrothal was bound then to stand for one year at least, and it often stood for longer. During this time it could be revoked by a public return of the rings, the rings then being molten and not again used for a betrothal. Such was the law; but the right of revoking was seldom used, for the Eldar do not err lightly in such choice. They are not easily deceived by their own kind; and their spirits being masters of their bodies, they are seldom swayed by the desires of the body only, but are by nature continent and steadfast.

Nonetheless among the Eldar, even in Aman, the desire for marriage was not always fulfilled. Love was not always returned; and more than one might desire one other for spouse. Concerning this, the only cause by which sorrow entered the bliss of Aman, the Valar were in doubt. Some held that it came from the marring of Arda, and from the Shadow under which the Eldar awoke; for thence only (they said) comes grief or disorder. Some held that it came of love itself, and of the freedom of each *fëa,* and was a mystery of the nature of the Children of Eru.

After the betrothal it was the part of the betrothed to appoint the time of their wedding, when at least one year had passed. Then at a feast, again[7] shared by the two houses, the marriage was celebrated. At the end of the feast the betrothed stood forth, and the

mother of the bride and the father of the bridegroom joined the hands of the pair and blessed them. For this blessing there was a solemn form, but no mortal has heard it; though the Eldar say that Varda was named in witness by the mother and Manwë by the father; and moreover that the name of Eru was spoken (as was seldom done at any other time). The betrothed then received back one from the other their silver rings (and treasured them); but they gave in exchange slender rings of gold, which were worn upon the index of the right hand.

Among the Noldor also it was a custom that the bride's mother should give to the bridegroom a jewel upon a chain or collar; and the bridegroom's father should give a like gift to the bride. These gifts were sometimes given before the feast. (Thus the gift of Galadriel to Aragorn, since she was in place of Arwen's mother, was in part a bridal gift and earnest of the wedding that was later accomplished.)

But these ceremonies were not rites necessary to marriage; they were only a gracious mode by which the love of the parents was manifested,[8] and the union was recognized which would join not only the betrothed but their two houses together. It was the act of bodily union that achieved marriage, and after which the indissoluble bond was complete. In happy days and times of peace it was held ungracious and contemptuous of kin to forgo the ceremonies, but it was at all times lawful for any of the Eldar, both being unwed, to marry thus of free consent one to another without ceremony or witness (save blessings exchanged and the naming of the Name); and the union so joined was alike indissoluble. In days of old, in times of trouble, in flight and exile and wandering, such marriages were often made.[9]

As for the begetting and bearing of children: a year passes between the begetting and the birth of an elf-child, so that the days of both are the same or nearly so, and it is the day of begetting that is remembered year by year. For the most part these days come in the Spring. It might be thought that, since the Eldar do not (as Men deem) grow old in body, they may bring forth children at any time in the ages of their lives. But this is not so. For the Eldar do indeed grow older, even if slowly: the limit of their lives is the life of Arda, which though long beyond the reckoning of Men is not endless, and ages also. Moreover their body and spirit are not separated but coherent. As the weight of the years, with all their changes of desire

and thought, gathers upon the spirit of the Eldar, so do the impulses and moods of their bodies change. This the Eldar mean when they speak of their spirits consuming them; and they say that ere Arda ends all the Eldalië on earth will have become as spirits invisible to mortal eyes, unless they will to be seen by some among Men into whose minds they may enter directly.[10]

Also the Eldar say that in the begetting, and still more in the bearing of children, greater share and strength of their being, in mind and in body, goes forth than in the making of mortal children. For these reasons it came to pass that the Eldar brought forth few children; and also that their time of generation was in their youth or earlier life, unless strange and hard fates befell them. But at whatever age they married, their children were born within a short space of years after their wedding.* For with regard to generation the power and the will are not among the Eldar distinguishable. Doubtless they would retain for many ages the power of generation, if the will and desire were not satisfied; but with the exercise of the power the desire soon ceases, and the mind turns to other things.[11] The union of love is indeed to them great delight and joy, and the 'days of the children', as they call them, remain in their memory as the most merry in life; but they have many other powers of body and of mind which their nature urges them to fulfil.

Thus, although the wedded remain so for ever, they do not necessarily dwell or house together at all times; for without considering the chances and separations of evil days, wife and husband, albeit united, remain persons individual having each gifts of mind and body that differ. Yet it would seem to any of the Eldar a grievous thing if a wedded pair were sundered during the bearing of a child, or while the first years of its childhood lasted. For which reason the Eldar would beget children only in days of happiness and peace if they could.

In all such things, not concerned with the bringing forth of children, the *neri* and *nissi*[12] (that is, the men and women) of the Eldar are equal — unless it be in this (as they themselves say) that for the *nissi* the making of things new is for the most part shown in the forming of their children, so that invention and change is otherwise mostly brought about by the *neri.* There are, however, no matters which among the Eldar only a *nér* can think or do, or others with which only a *nís* is concerned. There are indeed some

differences between the natural inclinations of *neri* and *nissi,* and other differences that have been established by custom (varying in place and in time, and in the several races of the Eldar). For instance, the arts of healing, and all that touches on the care of the body, are among all the Eldar most practised by the *nissi;* whereas it was the elven-men who bore arms at need. And the Eldar deemed that the dealing of death, even when lawful or under necessity, diminished the power of healing, and that the virtue of the *nissi* in this matter was due rather to their abstaining from hunting or war than to any special power that went with their womanhood. Indeed in dire straits or desperate defence, the *nissi* fought valiantly, and there was less difference in strength and speed between elven-men and elven-women that had not borne child than is seen among mortals. On the other hand many elven-men were great healers and skilled in the lore of living bodies, though such men abstained from hunting, and went not to war until the last need.

As for other matters, we may speak of the customs of the Noldor (of whom most is known in Middle-earth). Among the Noldor it may be seen that the making of bread is done mostly by women; and the making of the *lembas* is by ancient law reserved to them. Yet the cooking and preparing of other food is generally a task and pleasure of men. The *nissi* are more often skilled in the tending of fields and gardens, in playing upon instruments of music, and in the spinning, weaving, fashioning, and adornment of all threads and cloths; and in matters of lore they love most the histories of the Eldar and of the houses of the Noldor; and all matters of kinship and descent are held by them in memory. But the *neri* are more skilled as smiths and wrights, as carvers of wood and stone, and as jewellers. It is they for the most part who compose musics and make the instruments, or devise new ones; they are the chief poets and students of languages and inventors of words. Many of them delight in forestry and in the lore of the wild, seeking the friendship of all things that grow or live there in freedom. But all these things, and other matters of labour and play, or of deeper knowledge concerning being and the life of the World, may at different times be pursued by any among the Noldor, be they *neri* or *nissi.*

OF NAMING

This is the manner in which the naming of children was achieved

among the Noldor. Soon after birth the child was named. It was the right of the father to devise this first name,[13] and he it was that announced it to the child's kindred upon either side. It was called, therefore, the father-name, and it stood first, if other names were afterwards added. It remained unaltered,* for it lay not in the choice of the child.

But every child among the Noldor (in which point, maybe, they differed from the other Eldar) had also the right to name himself or herself. Now the first ceremony, the announcement of the father-name, was called the *Essecarmë* or 'Name-making'. Later there was another ceremony called the *Essecilmë* or 'Name-choosing'. This took place at no fixed date after the *Essecarmë*, but could not take place before the child was deemed ready and capable of *lámatyávë*, as the Noldor called it: that is, of individual pleasure in the sounds and forms of words. The Noldor were of all the Eldar the swiftest in acquiring word-mastery; but even among them few before at least the seventh year had become fully aware of their own individual *lámatyávë*, or had gained a complete mastery of the inherited language and its structure, so as to express this *tyávë* skilfully within its limits. The *Essecilmë*, therefore, the object of which was the expression of this personal characteristic,* usually took place at or about the end of the tenth year.

In elder times the 'Chosen Name', or second name, was usually freshly devised, and though framed according to the structure of the language of the day, it often had no previous significance. In later ages, when there was a great abundance of names already in existence, it was more often selected from names that were known. But even so some modification of the old name might be made.[14]

Now both these names, the father-name and the chosen name, were 'true names', not nicknames; but the father-name was public, and the chosen name was private, especially when used alone. Private, not secret. The chosen names were regarded by the Noldor as part of their personal property, like (say) their rings, cups, or knives, or other possessions which they could lend, or share with kindred and friends, but which could not be taken without leave. The use of the chosen name, except by members of the same house (parents, sisters, and brothers), was a token of closest intimacy and love, when permitted. It was, therefore, presumptuous or insulting to use it without permission.**[15]

Since, however, the Eldar were by nature immortal within Arda,

but were by no means changeless, after a time one might wish for a new name.†16 He might then devise for himself a new chosen name. But this did not abrogate the former name, which remained part of the 'full title' of any Noldo: that is the sequence of all the names that had been acquired in the course of life.17

These deliberate changes of chosen name were not frequent. There was another source of the variety of names borne by any one of the Eldar, which in the reading of their histories may to us seem bewildering. This was found in the *Anessi*: the given (or added) names. Of these the most important were the so-called 'mother-names'.18 Mothers often gave to their children special names of their own choosing. The most notable of these were the 'names of insight', *essi tercenyë*, or of 'foresight', *apacenyë*. In the hour of birth, or on some other occasion of moment, the mother might give a name to her child, indicating some dominant feature of its nature as perceived by her, or some foresight of its special fate.19 These names had authority, and were regarded as true names when solemnly given, and were public not private if placed (as was sometimes done) immediately after the father-name.

All other 'given names' were not true names, and indeed might not be recognized by the person to whom they were applied, unless they were actually adopted or self-given. Names, or nicknames, of this kind might be given by anyone, not necessarily by members of the same house or kin, in memory of some deed, or event, or in token of some marked feature of body or mind. They were seldom included in the 'full title', but when they were, because of their wide use and fame, they were set at the end in some form such as this: 'by some called Telcontar' (that is Strider); or 'sometimes known as Mormacil' (that is Blacksword).

The *amilessi tercenyë*, or mother-names of insight, had a high position, and in general use sometimes replaced, both within the family and without, the father-name and chosen name, though the father-name (and the chosen among those of the Eldar that had the custom of the *essecilmë*) remained ever the true or primary name, and a necessary part of any 'full title'. The 'names of insight' were more often given in the early days of the Eldar, and in that time they came more readily into public use, because it was then still the custom for the father-name of a son to be a modification of the father's name (as *Finwë / Curufinwë*) or a patronymic (as *Finwion* 'son of Finwë'). The father-name of a daughter would likewise often

be derived from the name of the mother.

Renowned examples of these things are found in the early histories. Thus Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, first named his eldest son *Finwion*;[20] but later when his talent was revealed this was modified to *Curufinwë*.[21] But the name of insight which his mother Míriel gave to him in the hour of birth was *Fëanáro* 'Spirit of Fire';* and by this name he became known to all, and he is so called in all the histories. (It is said that he also took this name as his chosen name, in honour of his mother, whom he never saw.)[22] Elwë, lord of the Teleri, became widely known by the *anessë* or given name *Sindicollo* 'Greycloak', and hence later, in the changed form of the Sindarin tongue, he was called *Elu Thingol*. *Thingol* indeed was the name most used for him by others, though *Elu* or *Elu-thingol* remained his right title in his own realm.

OF DEATH AND THE SEVERANCE OF FËA AND HRONDO [> HRÖA][23]

It must be understood that what has yet been said concerning Eldarin marriage refers to its right course and nature in a world unmarred, or to the manners of those uncorrupted by the Shadow and to days of peace and order. But nothing, as has been said, utterly avoids the Shadow upon Arda or is wholly unmarred, so as to proceed unhindered upon its right courses. In the Elder Days, and in the ages before the Dominion of Men, there were times of great trouble and many griefs and evil chances; and Death[24] afflicted all the Eldar, as it did all other living things in Arda save the Valar only: for the visible form of the Valar proceeds from their own will and with regard to their true being is to be likened rather to the chosen raiment of Elves and Men than to their bodies.

Now the Eldar are immortal within Arda according to their right nature. But if a *fëa* (or spirit) indwells in and coheres with a *hrondo* [> *hröa*] (or bodily form) that is not of its own choice but ordained, and is made of the flesh or substance of Arda itself,[25] then the fortune of this union must be vulnerable by the evils that do hurt to Arda, even if that union be by nature and purpose permanent. For in spite of this union, which is of such a kind that according to unmarred nature no living person incarnate may be without a *fëa*, nor without a *hrondo* [> *hröa*], yet *fëa* and *hrondo* [> *hröa*] are not the same things; and though the *fëa* cannot be

broken or disintegrated by any violence from without, the *hrondo* [> *hröa*] can be hurt and may be utterly destroyed.

If then the *hrondo* [> *hröa*] be destroyed, or so hurt that it ceases to have health, sooner or later it 'dies'. That is: it becomes painful for the *fëa* to dwell in it, being neither a help to life and will nor a delight to use, so that the *fëa* departs from it, and its function being at an end its coherence is unloosed, and it returns again to the general *hrón* [> *orma*] of Arda.[26] Then the *fëa* is, as it were, houseless, and it becomes invisible to bodily eyes (though clearly perceptible by direct awareness to other *fëar).*

This destruction of the *hrondo* [> *hröa],* causing death or the unhousing of the *fëa*, was soon experienced by the immortal Eldar, when they awoke in the marred and overshadowed realm of Arda. Indeed in their earlier days death came more readily; for their bodies were then less different[27] from the bodies of Men, and the command of their spirits over their bodies less complete.

This command was, nonetheless, at all times greater than it has ever been among Men. From their beginnings the chief difference between Elves and Men lay in the fate and nature of their spirits. The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny. Their *fëar* were tenacious therefore of life 'in the raiment of Arda', and far excelled the spirits of Men in power over that 'raiment', even from the first days[28] protecting their bodies from many ills and assaults (such as disease), and healing them swiftly of injuries, so that they recovered from wounds that would have proved fatal to Men.

As ages passed the dominance of their *fëar* ever increased, 'consuming' their bodies (as has been noted).[29] The end of this process is their 'fading', as Men have called it; for the body becomes at last, as it were, a mere memory held by the *fëa;* and that end has already been achieved in many regions of Middle-earth, so that the Elves are indeed deathless and may not be destroyed or changed.[30] Thus it is that the further we go back in the histories, the more often do we read of the death of the Elves of old; and in the days when the minds of the Eldalië were young and not yet fully awake death among them seemed to differ little from the death of Men.

What then happened to the houseless *fëa?* The answer to this question the Elves did not know by nature. In their beginning (so they report) they believed, or guessed, that they 'entered into

Nothing', and ended like other living things that they knew, even as a tree that was felled and burned. Others guessed more darkly that they passed into 'the Realm of Night' and into the power of the 'Lord of Night'.[31] These opinions were plainly derived from the Shadow under which they awoke; and it was to deliver them from this shadow upon their minds, more even than from the dangers of Arda marred, that the Valar desired to bring them to the light of Aman.

It was in Aman that they learned of Manwë that each *fëa* was imperishable within the life of Arda, and that its fate was to inhabit Arda to its end. Those *fëar*, therefore, that in the marring of Arda suffered unnaturally a divorce from their *hrondor* [> *hröar*] remained still in Arda and in Time. But in this state they were open to the direct instruction and command of the Valar. As soon as they were disbodied they were summoned to leave the places of their life and death and go to the 'Halls of Waiting': Mandos, in the realm of the Valar.

If they obeyed this summons different opportunities lay before them.[32] The length of time that they dwelt in Waiting was partly at the will of Námo the Judge, lord of Mandos, partly at their own will. The happiest fortune, they deemed, was after the Waiting to be re-born, for so the evil and grief that they had suffered in the curtailment of their natural course might be redressed.

OF RE-BIRTH AND OTHER DOOMS OF THOSE THAT GO TO MANDOS[33]

Now the Eldar hold that to each elf-child a new *fëa* is given, not akin to the *fëar* of the parents (save in belonging to the same order and nature); and this *fëa* either did not exist before birth, or is the *fëa* of one that is re-born.

The new *fëa,* and therefore in their beginning all *fëar,* they believe to come direct from Eru and from beyond Ëa. Therefore many of them hold that it cannot be asserted that the fate of the Elves is to be confined within Arda for ever and with it to cease. This last opinion they draw from their own thought, for the Valar, having had no part in the devising of the Children of Eru, do not know fully the purposes of Eru concerning them, nor the final ends that he prepares for them.

But they did not reach these opinions at once or without dissent.

In their youth, while their knowledge and experience were small and they had not yet received the instruction of the Valar (or had not yet fully understood it), many still held that in the creation of their kind Eru had committed this power to them: to beget children in all ways like to themselves, body and indwelling spirit; and that therefore the *fëa* of a child came from its parents as did its *hrondo.*[34]

Yet always some dissented, saying: 'Indeed a living person may resemble the parents and be perceived as a blending, in various degrees, of these two; but this resemblance is most reasonably related to the *hrondo*. It is strongest and clearest in early youth, while the body is dominant and most like the bodies of its parents.' (This is true of all elf-children.)[35] 'Whereas in all children, though in some it may be more marked and sooner apparent, there is a part of character not to be understood from parentage, to which it may indeed be quite contrary. This difference is most reasonably attributed to the *fëa,* new and not akin to the parents; for it becomes clearer and stronger as life proceeds and the *fëa* increases in mastery.'

Later when the Elves became aware of re-birth this argument was added: 'If the *fëar* of children were normally derived from the parents and akin to them, then re-birth would be unnatural and unjust. For it would deprive the second parents, without consent, of one half of their parentage, intruding into their kin a child half alien.'

Nonetheless, the older opinion was not wholly void. For all the Eldar, being aware of it in themselves, spoke of the passing of much strength, both of mind and of body, into their children, in bearing and begetting. Therefore they hold that the *fëa*, though unbegotten, draws nourishment from the parents before the birth of the child: directly from the *fëa* of the mother while she bears and nourishes the *hrondo*, and mediately but equally from the father, whose *fëa* is bound in union with the mother's and supports it.

It was for this reason that all parents desired to dwell together during the year of bearing, and regarded separation at that time as a grief and injury, depriving the child of some part of its fathering. 'For,' said they, 'though the union of the *fëar* of the wedded is not broken by distance of place, yet in creatures that live as spirits embodied *fëa* communes with *fëa* in full only when the bodies dwell together.'

A houseless *fëa* that chose or was permitted to return to life re-entered the incarnate world through child-birth. Only thus could it return.* For it is plain that the provision of a bodily house for a *fëa,* and the union of *fëa* with *hrondo*, was committed by Eru to the Children, to be achieved in the act of begetting.

As for this re-birth, it was not an opinion, but known and certain. For the *fëa* re-born became a child indeed, enjoying once more all the wonder and newness of childhood; but slowly, and only after it had acquired a knowledge of the world and mastery of itself, its memory would awake; until, when the re-born elf was full-grown, it recalled all its former life, and then the old life, and the 'waiting', and the new life became one ordered history and identity. This memory would thus hold a double joy of childhood, and also an experience and knowledge greater than the years of its body. In this way the violence or grief that the re-born had suffered was redressed and its being was enriched. For the Re-born are twice nourished, and twice parented,* and have two memories of the joy of awaking and discovering the world of living and the splendour of Arda. Their life is, therefore, as if a year had two springs and though an untimely frost followed after the first, the second spring and all the summer after were fairer and more blessed.

The Eldar say that more than one re-birth is seldom recorded. But the reasons for this they do not fully know. Maybe, it is so ordered by the will of Eru; while the Re-born (they say) are stronger, having greater mastery of their bodies and being more patient of griefs. But many, doubtless, that have twice died do not wish to return.36

Re-birth is not the only fate of the houseless *fëar*. The Shadow upon Arda caused not only misfortune and injury to the body. It could corrupt the mind; and those among the Eldar who were darkened in spirit did unnatural deeds, and were capable of hatred and malice. Not all who died suffered innocently. Moreover, some *fëar* in grief or weariness gave up hope, and turning away from life relinquished their bodies, even though these might have been healed or were indeed unhurt.†37 Few of these latter desired to be re-born, not at least until they had been long in 'waiting'; some never returned. Of the others, the wrong-doers, many were held long in 'waiting', and some were not permitted to take up their lives again.

For there was, for all the *fëar* of the Dead, a time of Waiting, in

which, howsoever they had died, they were corrected, instructed, strengthened, or comforted, according to their needs or deserts. *If they would consent to this.* But the *fëa* in its nakedness is obdurate, and remains long in the bondage of its memory and old purposes (especially if these were evil).

Those who were healed could be re-born, if they desired it: none are re-born or sent back into life unwilling. The others remained, by desire or command, *fëar* unbodied, and they could only observe the unfolding of the Tale of Arda from afar, having no effect therein. For it was a doom of Mandos that only those who took up life again might operate in Arda, or commune with the *fëar* of the Living, even with those that had once been dear to them.[38]

Concerning the fate of other elves, especially of the Dark-elves who refused the summons to Aman, the Eldar know little. The Re-born report that in Mandos there are many elves, and among them many of the Alamanyar,[39] but that there is in the Halls of Waiting little mingling or communing of kind with kind, or indeed of any one *fëa* with another. For the houseless *fëa* is solitary by nature, and turns only towards those with whom, maybe, it formed strong bonds of love in life.

The *fëa* is single, and in the last impregnable. It cannot be brought to Mandos. It is summoned; and the summons proceeds from just authority, and is imperative; yet it may be refused. Among those who refused the summons (or rather invitation) of the Valar to Aman in the first years of the Elves, refusal of the summons to Mandos and the Halls of Waiting is, the Eldar say, frequent. It was less frequent, however, in ancient days, while Morgoth was in Arda, or his servant Sauron after him; for then the *fëa* unbodied would flee in terror of the Shadow to any refuge — unless it were already committed to the Darkness and passed then into its dominion. In like manner even of the Eldar some who had become corrupted refused the summons, and then had little power to resist the countersummons of Morgoth.

But it would seem that in these after-days more and more of the Elves, be they of the Eldalië in origin or be they of other kinds, who linger in Middle-earth now refuse the summons of Mandos, and wander houseless in the world,* unwilling to leave it[40] and unable to inhabit it, haunting trees or springs or hidden places that once they knew. Not all of these are kindly or unstained by the Shadow. Indeed the refusal of the summons is in itself a sign of taint.

It is therefore a foolish and perilous thing, besides being a wrong deed forbidden justly by the appointed Rulers of Arda, if the Living seek to commune with the Unbodied, though the houseless may desire it, especially the most unworthy among them. For the Unbodied, wandering in the world, are those who at the least have refused the door of life and remain in regret and self-pity. Some are filled with bitterness, grievance, and envy. Some were enslaved by the Dark Lord and do his work still, though he himself is gone. They will not speak truth or wisdom. To call on them is folly. To attempt to master them and to make them servants of one own's will is wickedness. Such practices are of Morgoth; and the necromancers are of the host of Sauron his servant.

Some say that the Houseless desire bodies, though they are not willing to seek them lawfully by submission to the judgement of Mandos. The wicked among them will take bodies, if they can, unlawfully. The peril of communing with them is, therefore, not only the peril of being deluded by fantasies or lies: there is peril also of destruction. For one of the hungry Houseless, if it is admitted to the friendship of the Living, may seek to eject the *fëa* from its body; and in the contest for mastery the body may be gravely injured, even if it be not wrested from its rightful habitant. Or the Houseless may plead for shelter, and if it is admitted, then it will seek to enslave its host and use both his will and his body for its own purposes. It is said that Sauron did these things, and taught his followers how to achieve them.

[Thus it may be seen that those who in latter days hold that the Elves are dangerous to Men and that it is folly or wickedness to seek converse with them do not speak without reason. For how, it may be asked, shall a mortal distinguish the kinds? On the one hand, the Houseless, rebels at least against the Rulers, and maybe even deeper under the Shadow; on the other, the Lingerers, whose bodily forms may no longer be seen by us mortals, or seen only dimly and fitfully. Yet the answer is not in truth difficult. Evil is not one thing among Elves and another among Men. Those who give evil counsel, or speak against the Rulers (or if they dare, against the One), are evil, and should be shunned whether bodied or unbodied. Moreover, the Lingerers are not houseless, though they may seem to be. They do not desire bodies, neither do they seek shelter, nor strive for mastery over body or mind. Indeed they do not seek converse with Men at all, save maybe rarely, either for the doing of

some good, or because they perceive in a Man's spirit some love of things ancient and fair. Then they may reveal to him their forms (through his mind working outwardly, maybe), and he will behold them in their beauty. Of such he may have no fear, though he may feel awe of them. For the Houseless have no forms to reveal, and even if it were within their power (as some Men say) to counterfeit elvish forms, deluding the minds of Men with fantasies, such visions would be marred by the evil of their intent. For the hearts of true Men uprise in joy to behold the true likenesses of the First-born, their elder kindred; and this joy nothing evil can counterfeit. So spoke *Ælfwine*.][41]

OF THE SEVERANCE OF MARRIAGE

Much has now been said concerning death and re-birth among the Elves. It may be asked: of what effect were these upon their marriage?

Since death and the sundering of spirit and body was one of the griefs of Arda Marred, it came inevitably to pass that death at times came between two that were wedded. Then the Eldar were in doubt, since this was an evil unnatural. Permanent marriage was in accordance with elvish nature, and they never had need of any law to teach this or to enforce it; but if a 'permanent' marriage was in fact broken, as when one of the partners was slain, then they did not know what should be done or thought.

In this matter they turned to Manwë for counsel, and, as is recorded in the case of Finwë, Lord of the Noldor, Manwë delivered his ruling through the mouth of Námo Mandos, the Judge.

'Marriage of the Eldar,' he said, 'is by and for the Living, and for the duration of life. Since the Elves are by nature permanent in life within Arda, so also is their unmarred marriage. But if their life is interrupted or ended, then their marriage must be likewise. Now marriage is chiefly of the body, but it is nonetheless not of the body only but of the spirit and body together, for it begins and endures in the will of the *fëa*. Therefore when one of the partners of a marriage dies the marriage is not yet ended, but is in abeyance. For those that were joined are now sundered; but their union remains still a union of will.

'How then can a marriage be ended and the union be dissolved? For unless this be done, there can be no second marriage. By the

law of the nature of the Elves, the *neri* and the *nissi* being equal, there can be union only of one with one.[42] Plainly an end can be made only by the ending of the will; and this must proceed from the Dead, or be by doom. By the ending of the will, when the Dead are not willing ever to return to life in the body; by doom, when they are not permitted to return. For a union that is for the life of Arda is ended, if it cannot be resumed within the life of Arda.

'We say that the ending of will must proceed from the Dead, for the Living may not for their own purposes compel the Dead to remain thus, nor deny to them re-birth, if they desire it. And it must be clearly understood that this will of the Dead not to return, when it has been solemnly declared and is ratified by Mandos, shall then become a doom: the Dead will not be permitted ever to return to the life of the body.'

The Eldar then asked: 'How shall the will or doom be known?' It was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë and by the pronouncement of Námo. In this matter it shall not be lawful for any of the Eldar to judge his own case. For who among the Living can discern the thoughts of the Dead, or presume the dooms of Mandos?'

Upon this pronouncement of Mandos, which is called the 'Doom of Finwë and Míriel'[43] for reasons to be told, there are many commentaries that record the explanation of points arising from its consideration, some given by the Valar, some later reasoned by the Eldar. Of these the more important are here added.

1. It was asked: 'What is meant by the saying that marriage is chiefly of the body, and yet is both of spirit and body?'

It was answered: 'Marriage is chiefly of the body, for it is achieved by bodily union, and its first operation is the begetting of the bodies of children, even though it endures beyond this and has other operations. And the union of bodies in marriage is unique, and no other union resembles it. Whereas the union of *fëar* in marriage differs from other unions of love and friendship not so much in kind as in its closeness and permanence, which are derived partly from the bodies in their union and in their dwelling together.

'Nonetheless marriage concerns also the *fëar*. For the *fëar* of the Elves are of their nature male and female, and not their *hrondor*[44] only. And the beginning of marriage is in the affinity of the *fëar*, and in the love arising therefrom. And this love includes in it, from its first awakening, the desire for marriage, and is therefore like to

but not in all ways the same as other motions of love and friendship, even those between Elves of male and female nature who do not have this inclination. It is therefore true to say that, though achieved by and in the body, marriage proceeds from the *fëa* and resides ultimately in its will. For which reason it cannot be ended, as has been declared, while that will remains.'

2. It was asked: 'If the Dead return to the Living, are the sundered spouses still wedded? And how may that be, if marriage is chiefly of the body, whereas the body of one part of the union is destroyed? Must the sundered be again married, if they wish? Or whether they wish it or no?'

It was answered: 'It has been said that marriage resides ultimately in the will of the *fëar*. Also the identity of person resides wholly in the *fëa*,[45] and the re-born is the same person as the one who died. It is the purpose of the grace of re-birth that the unnatural breach in the continuity of life should be redressed; and none of the Dead will be permitted to be re-born until and unless they desire to take up their former life and continue it. Indeed they cannot escape it, for the re-born soon recover full memory of all their past.

'If then marriage is not ended while the Dead are in the Halls of Waiting, in hope or purpose to return, but is only in abeyance, how then shall it be ended, when the *fëa* is again in the land of the living?

'But herein there is indeed a difficulty, that reveals to us that death is a thing unnatural. It may be amended, but it cannot, while Arda lasts, be wholly undone or made as if it had not been. What shall come to pass as the Eldar grow older cannot be wholly foreseen. But perceiving their nature, as we now do, we hold that the love of the

Here the typescript version B breaks off, with much of the content of the essay as declared in the title unfulfilled (see p. 209). The text ends at the foot of a page, but I think it virtually certain that this was where my father abandoned it.

NOTES

1 In A the opening paragraph ended: 'the fire of their spirit had not consumed them, nor their minds turned inwards', subsequently

changed to the text of B.

2 Added here later in A: ‘Yet the Elf-child would have more knowledge and skill.’ This was not taken up in B.

3 A: ‘They had few children, but these were dear to them beyond all else that they possessed. (Though no Elf would speak of possessing children; he would say: “three children have been added unto me”, or “are with me”, or “are in my house”; for their families were held together …’ (the brackets being closed at the words ‘or teaching’).

4 A: ‘… while the Eldar were still few, and eager to increase their kind, before the weight of years lay on them, there is no record of any number more than seven’, with ‘seldom’ written later above ‘no’.

5 For this paragraph A has:

> The Eldar wedded once for all. Many, as the histories reveal, could become estranged from good, for nothing can wholly escape from the evil shadow that lies upon Arda. Some fell into pride, and self-will, and could be guilty of deeds of malice, enmity, greed and jealousy. But among all these evils there is no record of any among the Elves that took another’s spouse by force; for this was wholly against their nature, and one so forced would have rejected bodily life and passed to Mandos. Guile or trickery in this matter was scarcely possible (even if it could be thought that any Elf would purpose to use it); for the Eldar can read at once in the eyes and voice of another whether they be wed or unwed.

6 The original reading in A was ‘at a [feast >] repast shared by the two “houses” concerned’, changed later to ‘at a meeting’ as in B. See note 7.

7 The word ‘again’ in ‘again shared by the two houses’ depends on the original reading in A given in note 6.

8 A: ‘and were only a gracious recognition of the change of state’.

9 Added here in A, probably very much later: ‘[Thus Beren and Tinúviel could lawfully have wedded, but for Beren’s oath to Thingol.]’

10 This paragraph ends in A: ‘This the Eldar mean when they speak of their spirits consuming them; and they say that ere Arda ends all the Elf-folk will have become spirits no less than those in Mandos, invisible to mortal eyes, unless they will to be seen.’

The words ‘no less than those in Mandos’ stood in B as typed, but were heavily struck out.

11 For the passage in B ‘For with regard to generation …’ A has: ‘For, whether the Eldar retain their power of generation (as is likely if we speak of days of old when all the Eldalië were young) or in time lose it (as some say those that remain on Earth have now lost it), at all times they lose the desire and will with the exercise of that power.’

12 For *neri* and *nissi* in B (see the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, entries NĒR, NIS) A has *quendor* and *quender*, changed later to *quendur* and *quendir*. For the singulars *nér* and *nís* occurring subsequently A has *quendo* and *quende*, changed to *quendu* and *quendi*. The substance of this passage concerning the difference in characteristic activity among men and women of the Eldar is essentially the same in A, but no reference is made to the Noldor.

13 It is said in A that it was the right of the father, not to ‘devise’ the first name, but to ‘announce’ it, and this is followed by a note: ‘Though the name was often the mother’s choice. But it was held to be the right of the father to devise the name of [the first son >] his sons, if he would, and of the mother to devise the name of [the first daughter >] her daughters. But in any case the father proclaimed the name.’ To the words ‘This name was thus called the “father-name” or first name’ was added later in A: ‘It always had a meaning and was made of known words.’

14 At this point there is a footnote in B (deriving closely from A) which was later struck through:

> It will be observed in the histories how seldom the same name recurs for different persons. This is because, both in *Essecarmë* and in *Essecilmë*, there was usually an attempt to mark individuality; and names were regarded as the property of those who first bore them.

15 The footnote here reads thus in A:

> This feeling had nothing to do with ‘magic’ or taboo. The Eldar did indeed believe in a special relation between a name of a person and his life and individuality; but this concerned both first and second name (alone or together), which they might conceal from enemies.

16 The latter part of the footnote here, which I have enclosed in square brackets, is found typed on a separate page belonging

with the B typescript, but with no direction for its insertion (see note 37). It is found however in closely similar words in the A version of the footnote, following 'their *lámatyávë* might also change' (A does not have the conclusion of the note in B, 'But such changes or progressions …').

In the A version of the note the Elvish word of which 'mind-mood' is a translation was first written *ingil-*[?*weidi*, very uncertain], changed to *inwaldi*, and later to *inwisti*, as in B. In A the Elvish word for the body is *rhōn* (changed later to *hrondo*, the word used in B), and for the mind *īn*, *indo* (the latter changed later to *inno*, whereas B has *inno* > *indo)*.

17A has a different account here: 'They might then devise a new "Chosen Name", but this replaced the former, and became the Second Name. Identity was preserved by the permanence for all formal and legal purposes of the First Name or father's name.'

18A has: 'this was the *Anessi*, the given names, or "nick-names"' (with reference to the original meaning of *nick-name*, changed from *(an) eke-name*, meaning an additional or added name).

19The passage following this in A reads thus:

> Later, when the character and gifts of the child were revealed, as it grew, she might also give a similar name to it (or modify its father-name). But this latter branch of 'mother-names' differed in authority only rather than in kind from general given or nick-names. These were given to persons by anyone (not necessarily even members of their 'house' or kin), in memory of some deed, or event, or some striking peculiarity. Though these names had no authority and were not 'true names', they often became widely known and used, and were sometimes recognized by the persons themselves and their families.
>
> The 'mother-names of insight' had an intermediate position. They had parental authority and the authority of maternal *terken* [*added:* insight], and were often used instead of either father-name or chosen name, or might replace them both — replaced them, that is, in actual usage. The 'true' or primary *Essë* of any person remained the father-name. The 'names of insight', though at no time frequent, were more frequent in the early days of the Eldar…

20In A it is said that 'Finwë originally named his eldest son *Finwë*'.

21 *Curufinwë:* the name has been met in the rejected addition to AAm where appear my father's first thoughts on the story of Fëanor's birth (when his mother was named Indis): see p. 87 note 3.

22 A has here a passage that was omitted in B:

> Finwë then named his second son (by another mother, Indis) also *Finwë*, modifying it later to *Nolofinwë*. But the mother-name which Indis gave to him was *Ingoldo*, signifying that he was partly of both the Ingar (people of Ingwë), her own kin, and of the Noldor. By this name he also became generally known; though after the rule of the Noldor was committed to him by Manwë (in the place of his elder brother and his father) he took the name of *Finwë*, and was in fact usually called *Ingoldo-finwë*. Similarly the third son was *Arafinwë* and also *Ingalaurë* (because he had the golden hair of his mother's kin).

As in the name *Noldor* throughout the later texts, *Nolofinwë* is written with a tilde over the *N*. — On this passage see further p. 265 note 10.

23 In A there is no subtitle here, but before 'It must be understood …' there stands the following:

> In what has been said concerning names it will be noted that for Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, two wives are named: Míriel and Indis; though it was said that the marriage of the Eldar is permanent and indissoluble.

24 After 'and Death' there followed in B 'in its Elvish mode', derived from A; but this was rejected as soon as typed.

25 A: 'and is made also as it were of the *hrōn* (or flesh and substance) of Arda'; cf. *rhōn* 'body', note 16. The word *hrōn* was left unchanged in A here (see note 26); subsequently where B has *hrondo* (> *hröa*) A has *hrōn*, *hrón*, and *hrôn* (> *hrondo*), until later in the text *hrondo* appears in A as first written (note 34).

26 The words 'and it returns again to the general *hrôn* of Arda' were added to the A-text at the same time as other occurrences of *hrôn* were changed to *hrondo* (note 25); thus *hrón* here in B (subsequently > *orma*) represents a distinction between *hrón* (of the 'body' of Arda) and *hrondo*. At a later point in the A manuscript there is the following hastily pencilled note, which was struck through:

√*s-ron* ‘flesh, substance, matter’. Q. *hrōn*, *hrŏm-* ‘matter’, the substance of Arda, hence *hrondo* ‘physical body, “the flesh”’.

27B as typed had ‘little different’, as does A, but ‘little’ was at once changed to ‘less’.

28Where B has ‘even from the first days’ A has ‘even at first’.

29‘as has been noted’ (not said in A): the previous references are on pp. 210 (‘Ælfwine’s Preamble’) and 212.

30In A the first part of this paragraph reads:

> As ages passed their spirits became more dominant, and ‘consumed’ their bodies — the end of this process (now achieved), they said, was that the body should become as it were a mere memory of the spirit — though it never became changeable like raiment.

31A: ‘Others guessed that they passed into the realm of Dark and the power of the Dark Lord (as they called him).’

32A: ‘(The *fëar* of the Eldar, with rare exceptions, at once obeyed that summons.) After that different opportunities lay before them.’

33There is no subtitle here in A.

34Here and subsequently *hrondo* (not *hrôn*) appears in the A-text as written (see notes 25 and 44). Purely coincidentally, as it seems, here and subsequently *hrondo* was not changed to *hröa* in B.

35This bracketed statement derives from an addition made to A: ‘This is true of all Elf-children, whatever may be the case with Men, in whom the body is ever more dominant.’

36This paragraph is absent from A.

37This footnote is not in the B-text, but is found typed separately on the same page as the passage referred to in note 16, and like that passage without direction for its insertion. It derives fairly closely from a footnote found at this point in A; this however ends: ‘… was held a fault or weakness, needing correction or cure if that could be achieved.’

38From ‘The others remained’ to the end of the paragraph the A-text as first written read thus:

> Others, freed from desire of life and of doing, yet not from operations of the mind in observing or reflexion, might remain as spirits, *fëar* unbodied, and yet be permitted to go forth from Mandos, and to return thither or not, as they would. As ages passed, the numbers of these increased, the

Eldar say. With the minds of the Living they can commune, if the Living remember them or open their minds to receive them. This the Eldar call 'communing with the *fëar* (or the Unliving)', and in the latter days it has become easier and more frequent. But they could only observe what passed or was done as the Tale of Arda unfolded. They could

The passage was struck out when this point was reached and replaced by the text that stands here in B. Cf. the subsequent passage (p. 224), found both in A and in B: 'It is therefore a foolish and perilous thing, besides being a wrong deed forbidden justly by the appointed Rulers of Arda, if the Living seek to commune with the Unbodied …'

39 On *Alamanyar* see pp. 170–1.

40 A sets the opening of this paragraph in the past tense: 'But in after days more and more of the Elves that lingered in Middle-earth refused the summons of Mandos, and wandered houseless in the world, unwilling to leave it…'

41 This paragraph, attributed to Ælfwine and bracketed in the same way as is the opening 'Preamble', is absent from A, which continues on from 'These things it is said that Sauron did, and taught his chief followers how to achieve them' as follows:

> In this account the lives and customs of the Eldar have been considered mainly in their natural courses in days untroubled, and in accordance with their true nature unmarred. But, as has been said, the Eldar did not escape the Shadow upon Arda, that caused both misfortunes and misdeeds to afflict them.

This was replaced by the sentence beginning 'Now much has been said concerning death and rebirth among the Eldar …' as in B, but without the subtitle 'Of the Severance of Marriage'.

42 This sentence is absent from A, and so there appear here no equivalents of the words *neri* and *nissi* in B (see note 12).

43 A has 'the "Statute of Finwë and Míriel"', as in the title of the B-text.

44 A had here *hróni*, changed to *hrondor*: see note 34.

45 From here to the point where it breaks off B diverges altogether from A, and I take up the presentation of the A-text in full from the beginning of this second response.

★

I give now the remainder of the work from the original manuscript A, taking it up shortly before the point where the typescript B breaks off (see note 45 above). Alterations and additions are mostly noted as such.

In A the actual tale of Finwë, Míriel, and Indis reappears (pp. 236–9); it is easily shown that this version followed FM 1 (the rider to LQ chapter 6, *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*, pp. 205–7), but I think at no long interval: the manuscript style of the two texts is notably similar.

It was answered: It has been said that marriage resides ultimately in the will of the *fëa*. Also the identity of person resides in the *fëa*; and the Dead that return [*struck out:* will] in time recover full memory of the past; what is more, though the body is more than raiment and the change of body [will not be of no effect >] will certainly have effect upon the reborn, the *fëa* is the master, and the reborn will come to resemble their former self so closely that all who knew them before Death will recognize them, soonest and most readily the former spouse. Nonetheless, since marriage is also of the body and one body has perished, they must be married again, if they will. For they will have returned, as it were, to that state in their former life when by the motions of their *fëar* they desired to be married. There will be no question of desiring this or not desiring it. For by the steadfastness of the *fëar* of the Eldar uncorrupted they will desire it; and none of the Dead will be permitted by Mandos to be reborn, until and unless they desire to take up life again in continuity with their past. For it is the purpose of the time in Waiting in Mandos that the unnatural breach in the continuity of the life of the Eldar should be healed, though it cannot be undone or made of no effect in Arda. It follows, therefore, also that the Dead will be reborn in such place and time that the meeting and recognition of the sundered shall surely come to pass, and there shall be no hindrance to their marriage.

> Upon this the Eldar comment: 'By this is meant that the Reborn Spouse will not appear among the close kindred of the Living Spouse, and in fact the Reborn appear as a rule amongst their own former kin, unless in the chances of Arda things have so changed that the meeting of the sundered would thus be unlikely. [*Added:* For the first purpose of the *fëa* that seeks rebirth is to find its spouse, and children, if it had these in life.] The Reborn that were unwedded always return to their own kin.' For the marriages of the Eldar do not take place between 'close kin'.

This again is a matter in which they needed no law or instruction, but acted by nature, though they gave reasons for it later, declaring that it was due to the nature of bodies and the processes of generation; but also to the nature of *fëar*. 'For,' they said, *'fëar* are also akin, and the motions of love between them, as say between a brother and sister, are not of the same kind as those that make the beginning of marriage.' By 'close kin' for this purpose was meant members of one 'house', especially sisters and brothers. None of the Eldar married those in direct line of descent, nor children of the same parents, nor the sister or brother of either of their parents; nor did they wed 'half-sisters' or 'half-brothers'. Since as has been shown only in the rarest events did the Eldar have second spouses, *half-sister* or *half-brother* had for them a special meaning: they used these terms when both of the parents of one child were related to both of the parents of another, as when two brothers married two sisters of another family, or a sister and a brother of one house married a brother and sister of another: things which often occurred. Otherwise 'first cousins', as we should say, might marry, but seldom did so, or desired to do so, unless one of the parents of each were far-sundered in kin.

Hardly otherwise shall it be when both spouses are slain or die: they will marry again in due time after rebirth, unless they desire to remain together in Mandos.

It was asked: Why must the Dead remain in Mandos for ever, if the *fëa* consents to the ending of its marriage? And what is this Doom of which Mandos speaks?

It was answered: The reasons are to be found in what has been said already. Marriage is for life, and cannot, therefore, be ended, save by the interruption of death without return. While there is hope or purpose of return it is not ended, and the Living cannot therefore marry again. If the Living is permitted to marry again, then by doom Mandos will not permit the Dead to return. For, as has been declared, one reborn is the same person as before death and returns to take up and continue his or her former life. But if the former spouse were re-married, this would not be possible, and great grief and doubt would afflict all three parties. To speak of the dooms of Mandos: these are of three kinds. He utters the decisions of Manwë, or of the Valar in conclave, which become binding upon all, even the Valar, when they are so declared: for which reason a time passes between the decision and the doom. In similar manner he utters the decisions and purposes of others who are under his jurisdiction, who are the Dead, in grave matters that affect justice

and the right order of Arda; and when so spoken these decisions become ‘laws’ also, though pertaining only to particular persons or cases, and Mandos will not permit them to be revoked or broken: for which reason again a time must pass between decision and doom.* And lastly there are the dooms of Mandos that proceed from Mandos himself, as judge in matters that belong to his office as ordained from the beginning. He is the judge of right and of wrong, and of innocence or guilt (and all the degrees and mingling of these) in the mischances and misdeeds that come to pass in Arda. All those who come to Mandos are judged with regard to innocence or guilt, in the matter of their death and in all other deeds and purposes of their lives in the body; and Mandos appoints to each the manner and the length of their time of Waiting according to this judgement. But his dooms in such matters are not uttered in haste; and even the most guilty are long tested, whether they may be healed or corrected, before any final doom is given (such as never to return again among the Living). Therefore it was said: ‘Who among the Living can presume the dooms of Mandos?’

> Upon this the Eldar comment: ‘Innocence or guilt in the matter of death is spoken of, because to be in any way culpable in incurring this evil (whether by forcing others to slay one in their defence against unjust violence, or by foolhardiness or the making good of rash vaunts, or by slaying oneself or wilfully withdrawing the *fëa* from the body) is held a fault. Or at the least, the withdrawal from life is held a good reason, unless the will of the *fëa* be changed, for the *fëa* to remain among the Dead and not to return. As for guilt in other matters little is known of the dealings of Mandos with the Dead. For several reasons: Because those who have done great evil (who are few) do not return. Because those who have been under the correction of Mandos will not speak of it, and indeed, being healed, remember little of it; for they have returned to their natural courses, and the unnatural and perverted is no longer in the continuity of their lives. Because also, as has been said, though all that die are summoned to Mandos, it is within the power of the *fëar* of the Elves to refuse the summons, and doubtless many of the most unhappy, or most corrupted spirits (especially those of the Dark-elves) do refuse, and so come to worse evil, or at best wander unhoused and unhealed, without hope of return. Not so do they escape judgement for ever; for Eru abideth and is over all.

This judgement is known as the ‘Statute of Finwë and Míriel’, for theirs was the first case, and it was on behalf of Finwë that Manwë’s

counsel was sought in this matter. Now Finwë, first Lord of the Noldor, had to wife Míriel who was called the *Serindë*, because of her surpassing skill in weaving and sewing, and their love was great for one another. But in the bearing of her first son Míriel was consumed in spirit and body, so that wellnigh all strength seemed to have passed from her. This son was Curufinwë, most renowned of all the Noldor as Feänáro (or Feänor),[1] Spirit-of-fire, the name which Míriel gave to him at birth; he was mighty in body and in all the skills of the body, and supreme among the Eldar in eagerness and strength and subtlety of mind. But Míriel said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear child; for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Feänáro.'

Then Finwë was greatly grieved, for the Noldor were in the youth of their days and dwelt in the bliss of the Noontide of Aman, but were still few in number, and he desired to bring forth many children into that bliss. He said, therefore: 'Surely there is healing in Aman? Here all weariness can find rest.'

Therefore Finwë sought the counsel of Manwë, and Manwë delivered Míriel to the care of Irmo in Lorien.[2] At their parting (for a little while as he deemed) Finwë was sad, for it seemed a thing unhappy that the mother should depart and miss the beginning at least of the childhood days of her son. 'Unhappy it is indeed,' said Míriel, 'and I would weep if I were not so weary. But hold me blameless in this, and in aught that may come after. Rest now I must. Farewell, dear lord.' No clearer than this did she speak, but in her heart she yearned not only for sleep and rest, but for release from the labour of living. She went then to Lorien and laid her down to sleep beneath a silver tree, but though she seemed to sleep indeed her spirit departed from her body and passed in silence to the halls of Mandos; and the maidens of Estë tended her fair body so that it remained unwithered, yet she did not return.

Finwë's grief was great, and he went often to the gardens of Lorien and sitting beneath the silver willows beside the body of his wife he called her by her names. But it was of no avail, and he alone in all the Blessed Realm was bereaved and sorrowful. After a while he went to Lorien no more, for it did but increase his grief. All his love he gave to his son; for Fëanáro was like his mother in voice and countenance, and Finwë was to him both father and mother, and there was a double bond of love upon their hearts. Yet Finwë was not content, being young and eager, and desiring to have

more children to bring mirth into his house. [He spoke, therefore, to Manwë >] When, therefore, ten years had passed, he spoke to Manwë, saying: 'Lord, behold! I am bereaved and solitary. Alone among the Eldar I have no wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and no daughter. Must I remain ever thus? [For I believe not that Míriel will return again >] For my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again from the house of Vairë while Arda lasts. Is there not healing of grief in Aman?'

Then Manwë took pity upon Finwë, and he considered his plea, and when Mandos had spoken his doom as has been recorded,[3] Manwë called Finwë to him, and said: 'Thou hast heard the doom that has been declared. If Míriel, thy wife, will not return and releases thee, your union[4] is dissolved, and thou hast leave to take another wife.'

It is said that Míriel answered Mandos, saying: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it. My life is gone out into Feänáro, my son. This gift I have given to him whom I loved, and I can give no more. Beyond Arda this may be healed, but not within it.'

Then Mandos adjudged her innocent, deeming that she had died under a necessity too great for her to withstand. Therefore her choice was permitted, and she was left in peace; and after ten years the doom of disunion was spoken. [In the year following >] And after three years more Finwë took as second spouse Indis the fair; and she was in all ways unlike Míriel. She was not of the Noldor, but of the Vanyar, [of the kin >] sister of Ingwë; and she was golden-haired, and tall, and exceedingly swift of foot. She laboured not with her hands, but sang and made music, and there was ever light and mirth about her while the bliss of Aman endured. She loved Finwë dearly, for her heart had turned to him long before, while the people of Ingwë dwelt still with the Noldor in Túna.[5] In those days she had looked upon the Lord of the Noldor, dark-haired and white-browed, eager of face and thoughtful-eyed, and he seemed to her fairest and noblest among the Eldar, and his voice and mastery of words delighted her. Therefore she remained unwedded, when her people departed to Valinor, and she walked often alone in the fields and friths of the Valar, [turning her thought to things that grow untended >] filling them with music. But it came to pass that Ingwë, hearing of the strange grief of Finwë, and desiring to lift up his heart and withdraw him from vain mourning

in Lorien, sent messages bidding him to leave Túna for a while and the reminders of his loss, and to come and dwell in the light of the Trees. This message Finwë did not answer, until after the doom of Mandos was spoken; but then deeming that he must seek to build his life anew and that the bidding of Ingwë was wise, he arose and went to the house of Ingwë upon the west of Mount Oiolossë. His coming was unlooked for, but welcome; and when Indis saw Finwë climbing the paths of the mountain (and the light of Laurelin was behind him as a glory) without forethought she sang suddenly in great joy, and her voice went up as the song of a *lirulin* in the sky.6 And when Finwë heard that song falling from above he looked up and saw Indis in the golden light, and he knew in that moment that she loved him and had long done so. Then his heart turned at last to her, and he believed that this chance, as it seemed, had been granted for the comfort of them both. 'Behold!' he said. 'There is indeed healing of grief in Aman!'

In this way came to pass ere long the wedding of Finwë and Indis, sister of Ingwë. In Indis was proved true indeed the saying that 'the loss of one may be the gain of another.' But this also she found true: 'the house remembers the builder, though others may dwell in it after.' For Finwë loved her well, and was glad, and she bore him children in whom he rejoiced,*7 yet the shadow of Míriel did not depart from his heart, and Fëanáro had the chief share of his thought. The wedding of his father was not pleasing to Feänáro, and though it did not lessen his love for his father, he had little love for Indis or her children, least of all for his half-brethren. As soon as he might (and he was wellnigh fullgrown ere Nolofinwë was born) he left his father's house and lived apart from them, giving all his heart and thought to the pursuit of lore and the practice of crafts. In those unhappy things which afterward came to pass and in which Feanáro was a leader, many saw the effects of this breach in the house of Finwë, judging that if Finwë had endured his loss and been content with the fathering of his mighty son, the courses of Feanáro would have been otherwise, and much sorrow and evil would never have been.

Thus it is that the cases in which remarriage of the Eldar can take place are rare, but rarer still are those who do this, even when it is permissible. For the sorrow and strife in the house of Finwë is graven in the memory of the Eldar.

[It is recorded by the Eldar that the Valar found this matter of

Finwë strange, and debated much concerning it. For Finwë they could not accuse of any guilt, and the Statute that had been made for Finwë and Míriel was just and reasonable. Yet it was clear that many evils would have been avoided, [if either Míriel had been less faint, or Finwë more patient >] if it had not been made, or at least had not been used. *This passage was later replaced as follows:*] It is recorded by the Eldar that the Valar debated long the case of Finwë and Míriel, after the Statute was made, but not yet declared. For they perceived that this was a grave matter, and a portent, in that Míriel had died even in Aman, and had brought sorrow to the Blessed Realm, things which they before had believed could not come to pass. Also, though the Statute seemed just, some feared that it would not heal the death of grief, but perpetuate it. And Manwë spoke to the Valar, saying: 'In this matter ye must not forget that you deal with Arda Marred — out of which ye brought the Eldar. Neither must ye forget that in Arda Marred *Justice* is not *Healing*. Healing cometh only by suffering and patience, and maketh no demand, not even for Justice. Justice worketh only within the bonds of things as they are, accepting the marring of Arda, and therefore though Justice is itself good and desireth no further evil, it can but perpetuate the evil that was, and doth not prevent it from the bearing of fruit in sorrow. Thus the Statute was just, but it accepted Death and the severance of Finwë and Míriel, a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, and therefore with reference to Arda Unmarred it was unnatural and fraught with Death. The liberty that it gave was a lower road that, if it led not still downwards, could not again ascend. But Healing must retain ever the thought of Arda Unmarred, and if it cannot ascend, must abide in patience. This is Hope which, I deem, is before all else the virtue most fair in the Children of Eru, [but cannot be commanded to come when needed: patience must often long await it.]'[8]

Then Aulë, friend of the Noldor [*added:* and lover of Fëanor], spake. 'But did this matter indeed arise out of Arda Marred?' he asked. 'For it seemeth to me that it arose from the bearing of Feanáro. Now Finwë and all the Noldor that followed him were never in heart or thought swayed by [Morgoth >] Melkor, the Marrer; how then did this strange thing come to pass, even in Aman the Unshadowed? That the bearing of a child should lay such a weariness upon the mother that she desired life no longer. This child is the greatest in gifts that hath arisen or shall arise among the

Eldar. But the Eldar are the first Children of Eru, and belong to him directly. Therefore the greatness of the child must proceed from his will directly, and be intended for the good of the Eldar and of all Arda. What then of the cost of the birth? Must it not be thought that the greatness and the cost come not from Arda, Marred or Unmarred, but from beyond Arda? For this we know to be true, and as the ages pass it shall often be manifest (in small matters and in great) that all the Tale of Arda was not in the Great Theme, and that things shall come to pass in that Tale which cannot be foreseen, for they are new and are not begotten by the past that preceded them.'[9] [*Added:* Thus Aulë spake being unwilling to believe that any taint of the Shadow lay upon Feänor, or upon any of the Noldor. He had been the most eager to summon them to Valinor.][10]

But Ulmo answered: 'Nonetheless Míriel died. [And is not death for the Eldar an evil, that is a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, which must proceed therefore from the marring? Or if the death of Míriel doth not so, but cometh from beyond Arda, how shall death that is unnatural and evil be known from that which is a new thing and hath no reason in the past, unless the latter cause neither sorrow nor doubt? But the death of Míriel has brought both into Aman. *This passage was later replaced as follows:*] And death is for the Eldar an evil, that is a thing unnatural in Arda Unmarred, which must proceed therefore from the marring. For if the death of Míriel was otherwise, and came from beyond Arda (as a new thing having no cause in the past) it would not bring grief or doubt. For Eru is Lord of All, and moveth all the devices of his creatures, even the malice of the Marrer, in his final purposes, but he doth not of his prime motion impose grief upon them. But the death of Míriel has brought sorrow to Aman. / The coming of Feänáro must proceed certainly from the will of Eru; but I hold that the marring of his birth comes of the Shadow, and is a portent of evils to come. For the greatest are the most potent also for evil. Have a care, my brethren, thinking not that the Shadow is gone for ever, though it is beaten down. Doth it not dwell even now in Aman, though you deem the bonds to be unbreakable?' [For Ulmo had dissented >] Thus Ulmo spake, who had dissented from the counsels of the Valar, when they brought Melkor the Marrer to Mandos after his defeat.[11] [*Added:* Also he loved the Elves (and Men afterwards), but otherwise than Aulë, believing that they should be left free,

however perilous that might seem. Thus afterwards it was seen, that though he loved Feänor and all the Noldor more coolly, he had more mercy for their errors and misdeeds.]

Then Yavanna spoke, and though she was the spouse of Aulë she leaned rather to Ulmo. 'My lord Aulë errs,' she said, 'in that he speaks of Finwë and Míriel as being free in heart and thought from the Shadow, as if that proved that naught that befell them could come from the Shadow or from the marring of Arda. But even as the Children are not as we (who came from beyond Arda wholly and in all our being) but are both spirit and body, and that body is of Arda and by Arda was nourished: so the Shadow worketh not only upon spirits, but has marred the very *hrón* of Arda, and all Middle-earth is perverted by the evil of Melkor, who has wrought in it as mightily as any one among us here. Therefore none of those who awoke in Middle-earth, and there dwelt before they came hither, have come here wholly free. The failing of the strength of the body of Míriel may then be ascribed, with some reason, to the evil of Arda Marred, and her death be a thing unnatural. And that this should appear in Aman seemeth to me as to Ulmo a sign to be heeded.'[12]

Then Niënna spoke, who came to Valmar seldom, but sat now upon the left hand of Manwë. 'In the use of Justice there must be Pity, which is the consideration of the singleness of each that cometh under Justice. Which of you Valar, in your wisdom, will blame these Children, Finwë and Míriel? For the Children are both strong and without might. Mandos you hold to be the strongest of all that are in Arda, being the least moved, and therefore you have dared to commit even the Marrer himself to his keeping. Yet I say to you that each *fëa* of the Children is as strong as he; for it hath the strength of its singleness impregnable (which cometh to it from Eru as to us): in its nakedness it is obdurate beyond all power that ye have to move it if it will not. Yet the Children are not mighty: in life they are little, and can effect little; and they are young, and they know Time only. Their minds are as the hands of their babes, little in grasp, and even that grasp is yet unfilled. How shall they perceive the [?end] of deeds, or forgo the desires which arise from their very nature, the indwelling of the spirit in [the] body which is their right condition? Have ye known the weariness of Míriel, or felt the bereavement of Finwë?

'Míriel, I deem, died by necessity of body, in suffering [for] which she was blameless or indeed to be praised, and yet was not

given power to resist it: the cost of so great a child-bearing. And herein I think that Aulë perceiveth a part of the truth. The severance of the *fëa* was in Míriel a thing special. Death is indeed death and within the Great Theme cometh from the Marrer and is grievous; but Eru in this death had a purpose of immediate good, and it need not have borne any bitter fruit; whereas Death that comes from the Marrer only is intended for evil, and its healing must await in Hope only, even until the End. But Finwë not understanding death (as how should he?) called Míriel, and she did not return, and he was bereaved, and his natural life and expectation was impaired. Justly he cried: "Is there not healing in Aman?" That cry could not be unheeded, and what could be done we have done. Wherefore should this be grudged?'

But Ulmo answered her saying: 'Nay! Though I do not condemn, yet still I will judge. Herein I perceive not only the direct will of Eru, but fault in his creatures. Not guilt, yet a failing from the highest which is the Hope of which the King hath spoken. And I doubt not that the taking of the higher road, an ascent that though hard was not impossible, was part of that purpose of immediate good of which Niënna speaketh.[13] For the *fëa* of Míriel may have departed by necessity, but it departed in the will not to return. Therein was her fault, for this will was not under compulsion irresistible; it was a failure in hope by the *fëa*, acceptance of the weariness and weakness of the body, as a thing beyond healing, and which therefore was not healed. But this resolve entailed not only abandoning her own life, but also the desertion of her spouse, and the marring of his. The justification which she urged is insufficient; for by the gift of a child however great, nor indeed by the gift of many children, the union of marriage is not ended, having further purpose. For one thing, Feänáro will be deprived of the mother's part in his nurture. Moreover, if she would return she need bear no more, unless by the renewal of rebirth her weariness were healed.

'Thus Finwë was aggrieved and claimed justice. But when he called her and she did not return, in only a few years he fell into despair. Herein lay his fault, and failing in Hope. But also he founded his claim mainly upon his desire for children, considering his own self and his loss more than the griefs that had befallen his wife: that was a failing in full love.

'The *fëar* of the Eldar, as Niënna hath said, cannot be broken or forced,* and the motion of their will cannot therefore be predicted

with certainty. Yet it seemeth to me that there was hope still that after repose in Mandos the *fëa* of Míriel should return of itself to its nature, which is to desire to inhabit a body. This strange event should issue, rather than in dissolving their union, in the use by Finwë of the patience of full love, and the learning of Hope; and in the return of Míriel, wider in mind, and renewed in body. Thus together they might foster their great son with joined love, and his right nurture be assured. But the *fëa* of Míriel hath not been left in peace, and by importuning its will hath been hardened; and in that resolve it must remain without change while Arda lasteth, if the Statute is declared. Thus the impatience of Finwë will close the door of life upon the *fëa* of his spouse. This is the greater fault. For it is more unnatural that one of the Eldar should remain for ever as *fëa* without body than that one should remain alive wedded but bereaved. A trial was imposed upon Finwë (not by Míriel only), and he hath asked for justice, and relief.'

'Nay!' said Vairë suddenly. 'The *fëa* of Míriel is with me. I know it well, for it is small. But it is strong; proud and obdurate. It is of that sort who having said: *this I will do*, make their words a doom irrevocable unto themselves. She will not return to life, or to Finwë, even if he waiteth until the ageing of the world. Of this he is aware, I deem, as his words show. For he did not found his claim on his desire for children only, but he said to the King: *my heart warns me that Míriel will not return while Arda lasts*. Of what sort the knowledge or belief may be that he would thus express, and whence it came to him, I know not. But *fëa* perceiveth *fëa* and knoweth the disposition of the other, in marriage especially, in ways that we cannot fully understand. We cannot probe all the mystery of the nature of the Children. But if we are to speak of Justice, then Finwë's belief must be taken into account; and if, as I judge, it is well-founded, not a fantasy of his own inconstancy, but against his will and desire, we must otherwise assess the faults of these two. When one of the Queens of the Valar, Varda or Yavanna, or even I, departeth for ever from Arda, and leaveth her spouse, will he or nill he,[14] then let that spouse judge Finwë, if he will, remembering that Finwë cannot follow Míriel without doing wrong to his nature, nor without forsaking the duty and bond of his fatherhood.'

When Vairë had spoken, the Valar sat long in silence, until at length Manwë spoke again. 'There is reason and wisdom in all that has been said. Truly, in the matter of the Children we approach

mysteries, and the key to their full understanding was not given to us. In part the Children are indeed one, or maybe the chief, of those "new things" of which Aulë hath spoken.* Yet they came into Arda Marred, and were destined to do so, and to endure the Marring, even though they came in their beginning from beyond Eä. For these "new things", manifesting the finger of Ilúvatar, as we say: they may have no past in Arda and be unpredictable before they appear, yet they have thereafter future operations which may be predicted, according to wisdom and knowledge, since they become at once part of Eä, and part of the past of all that followeth. We may say, therefore, that the Elves are destined to know "death" in their mode, being sent into a world which contains "death", and having a form for which "death" is possible. For though by their prime nature, unmarred, they rightly dwell as spirit and body coherent, yet these are two things, not the same, and their severance (which is "death") is a possibility inherent in their union.

'Aulë and Niënna err, I deem; for what each saith in different words meaneth this much: that Death which cometh from the Marrer may be one thing, and Death as an instrument of Eru be another thing and discernible: the one being of malice, and therefore only evil and inevitably grievous; the other, being of benevolence, intending particular and immediate good, and therefore not evil, and either not grievous or easily and swiftly to be healed. For the evil and the grief of death are in the mere severance and breach of nature, which is alike in both (or death is not their name); and both occur only in Arda Marred, and accord with its processes.

'Therefore I deem that Ulmo is to be followed rather, holding that Eru need not and would not desire as a special instrument of his benevolence a thing that is evil. Wherefore, indeed, should he intrude death as a "new thing" into a world that suffereth it already? Nonetheless, Eru is Lord of All, and will use as instruments of his final purposes, which are good, whatsoever any of his creatures, great or small, do or devise, in his despite or in his service. But we must hold that it is his will that those of the Eldar who serve him should not be cast down by griefs or evils that they encounter in Arda Marred; but should ascend to a strength and wisdom that they would not otherwise have achieved: that the Children of Eru should grow to be daughters and sons.

'For Arda Unmarred hath two aspects or senses. The first is the

Unmarred that they discern in the Marred, if their eyes are not dimmed, and yearn for, as we yearn for the Will of Eru: this is the ground upon which Hope is built. The second is the Unmarred that shall be: that is, to speak according to Time in which they have their being, the Arda Healed, which shall be greater and more fair than the first, because of the Marring: this is the Hope that sustaineth. It cometh not only from the yearning for the Will of Ilúvatar the Begetter (which by itself may lead those within Time to no more than regret), but also from trust in Eru the Lord everlasting, that he is good, and that his works shall all end in good. This the Marrer hath denied, and in this denial is the root of evil, and its end is in despair.

'Therefore, notwithstanding the words of Vairë, I abide by that which I said first. For though she speaketh not without knowledge, she uttereth opinion and not certainty. The Valar have not and must not presume certainty with regard to the wills of the Children. Nor, even were they certain in this one case concerning the *fëa* of Míriel, would that unmake the union of love that once was between her and her spouse, or render void the judgement that constancy to it would in Finwë be a better and fairer course, more in accord with Arda Unmarred, or with the will of Eru in permitting this thing to befall him. The Statute openeth the liberty of a lower road, and accepting death, countenanceth death, and cannot heal it. If that liberty is used, the evil of the death of Míriel will continue to have power, and will bear fruit in sorrow.

'But this matter I now commit to Námo the Judge. Let him speak last!'

Then Námo Mandos spoke, saying: 'All that I have heard I have considered again; though naught pertinent to judgement hath been brought forward that was not already considered in the making of the Statute. Let the Statute stand, for it is just.

'It is our part to rule Arda, and to counsel the Children, or to command them in things committed to our authority. Therefore it is our task to deal with Arda Marred, and to declare what is just within it. We may indeed in counsel point to the higher road, but we cannot compel any free creature to walk upon it. That leadeth to tyranny, which disfigureth good and maketh it seem hateful.

'Healing by final Hope, as Manwë hath spoken of it, is a law which one can give to oneself only; of others justice alone can be demanded. A ruler who discerning justice refuseth to it the sanction

of law, demanding abnegation of rights and self-sacrifice, will not drive his subjects to these virtues, virtuous only if free, but by unnaturally making justice unlawful, will drive them rather to rebellion against all law. Not by such means will Arda be healed.

'It is right, therefore, that this just Statute should be proclaimed, and those that use it shall be blameless, whatsoever followeth after. Thus shall the Tale of the Eldar, within the Tale of Arda, be fashioned.

'Hearken now, O Valar! To me foretelling* is granted no less than doom, and I will proclaim now to you things both near and far. Behold! Indis the fair shall be made glad and fruitful, who might else have been solitary. For not in death only hath the Shadow entered into Aman with the coming of the Children destined to suffer; there are other sorrows, even if they be less. Long she hath loved Finwë, in patience and without bitterness. Aulë nameth Fëanor the greatest of the Eldar, and in potency that is true. But I say unto you that the children of Indis shall also be great, and the Tale of Arda more glorious because of their coming. And from them shall spring things so fair that no tears shall dim their beauty; in whose being the Valar, and the Kindreds both of Elves and of Men that are to come shall all have part, and in whose deeds they shall rejoice. So that, long hence when all that here is, and seemeth yet fair and impregnable, shall nonetheless have faded and passed away, the Light of Aman shall not wholly cease among the free peoples of Arda until the End.

'When he that shall be called Eärendil setteth foot upon the shores of Aman, ye shall remember my words. In that hour ye will not say that the Statute of Justice hath borne fruit only in death; and the griefs that shall come ye shall weigh in the balance, and they shall not seem too heavy compared with the rising of the light when Valinor groweth dim.'

'So be it!' said Manwë.15

Therefore the Statute was proclaimed, and the meeting of Indis and Finwë took place, as has been told.

But after a while Niënna came to Manwë, and she said: 'Lord of Aman, it is now made clear that the death of Míriel was an evil of Arda Marred, for with the coming hither of the Eldar the Shadow hath found an entrance even into Aman. Nonetheless Aman remaineth the Realm of the Valar, wherein thy will is paramount. Though the death of severance may find out the Eldar in thy realm,

yet one thing cometh not to it, and shall not:* and that is deforming and decay. Behold then! The body of Míriel lieth unmarred, even as a fair house that awaiteth its mistress, who hath gone upon a journey. In this at least, therefore, her death differeth from death in Middle-earth: that for the houseless *fëa* a fair body is still ready, and rebirth is not the only gate by which it may return to life, if thou wilt grant her leave and give her thy blessing. Moreover the body has lain long now in repose in the peace of Lorien; and must not the rulers of Arda have respect even to bodies and all fair forms? Why should it lie idle and untenanted, when doubtless it would not now afflict the *fëa* with weariness, but rejoice it with hope of doing?'

But this Mandos forbade. 'Nay,' said he, 'if Míriel were rehoused, she would be again among the Living, and Finwë would have two spouses alive in Aman. Thus would the Statute be contravened, and my Doom set at naught. And injury would be done also to Indis, who used the liberty of the Statute, but would now by its breach be deprived, for Finwë would desire to return to his former spouse.'

But Niënna said to Mandos: 'Nay! Let Míriel have the joy of her body and of the use of its skills in which she delighted, and dwell not for ever remembering only her brief life before, and its ending in weariness! Can she not be removed from the Halls of Waiting, and taken into the service of Vairë? If she cometh never thence, nor seeketh to walk among the Living, why shouldst thou hold the Doom set at naught, or fear for griefs that might arise? Pity must have a part in Justice.'

But Mandos was unmoved. And the body of Míriel lay at rest in Lorien, until the escape of Melkor the Marrer and the Darkening of Valinor. In that evil time Finwë was slain by the Marrer himself, and his body was burned as by lightning stroke and was destroyed. Then Míriel and Finwë met again in Mandos, and lo! Míriel was glad of the meeting, and her sadness was lightened; and the will in which she had been set was released.

And when she learned of Finwë all that had befallen since her departure (for she had given no heed to it, nor asked tidings, until then) she was greatly moved; and she said to Finwë in her thought: 'I erred in leaving thee and our son, or at the least in not soon returning after brief repose; for had I done so he might have grown wiser. But the children of Indis shall redress his errors and therefore I am glad that they should have being, and Indis hath my love. How should I bear grudge against one who received what I rejected and

cherished what I abandoned. Would that I might set all the Tale of our people and of thee and thy children in a tapestry of many colours, as a memorial brighter than memory! For though I am cut off now from the world, and I accept that Doom as just, I would still watch and record all that befalls those dear to me, and their offspring also. [*Added:* I feel again the call of my body and its skills.]'

And Finwë said to Vairë: 'Dost thou hear the prayer and desire of Míriel? Why will Mandos refuse this redress of her griefs, that her being may not be void and without avail? Behold! I instead will abide with Mandos for ever, and so make amends. For surely, if I remain unhoused, and forgo life in Arda, then his Doom will be inviolate.'

'So thou may deem,' answered Vairë; 'yet Mandos is stern, and he will not readily permit a vow to be revoked. Also he will consider not only Míriel and thee, but Indis and thy children, whom thou seemest to forget, pitying now Míriel only.'

'Thou art unjust to me in thy thought,' said Finwë. 'It is unlawful to have two wives, but one may love two women, each differently, and without diminishing one love by another. Love of Indis did not drive out love of Míriel; so now pity for Míriel doth not lessen my heart's care for Indis. But Indis parted from me without death. I had not seen her for many years, and when the Marrer smote me I was alone. She hath dear children to comfort her, and her love, I deem, is now most for Ingoldo.[16] His father she may miss; but not the father of Fëanáro! But above all her heart now yearns for the halls of Ingwë and the peace of the Vanyar, far from the strife of the Noldor. Little comfort should I bring her, if I returned; and the lordship of the Noldor hath passed to my sons.'[17]

But when Mandos was approached he said to Finwë: 'It is well that thou desirest not to return, for this I should have forbidden, until the present griefs are long passed. But it is better still that thou hast made this offer, to deprive thyself, of thy free will, and out of pity for another. This is a counsel of healing, out of which good may grow.'

Therefore when Niënna came to him and renewed her prayer for Míriel, he consented, accepting the abnegation of Finwë as her ransom. Then the *fëa* of Míriel was released and came before Manwë and received his blessing; and she went then to Lorien and re-entered her body, and awoke again, as one that cometh out of a

deep sleep; and she arose and her body was refreshed. But after she had stood in the twilight of Lorien a long while in thought, remembering her former life, and all the tidings that she had learned, her heart was still sad, and she had no desire to return to her own people. Therefore she went to the doors of the House of Vairë and prayed to be admitted; and this prayer was granted, although in that House none of the Living dwelt nor have others ever entered it in the body.[18] But Míriel was accepted by Vairë and became her chief handmaid; and all tidings of the Noldor down the years from their beginning were brought to her, and she wove them in webs historial, so fair and skilled that they seemed to live, imperishable, shining with a light of many hues fairer than are known in Middle-earth. This labour Finwë is at times permitted to look upon. And still she is at work, though her name has been changed. For now she is named *Fíriel*,* which to the Eldar signifies 'She that died',[19] and also 'She that sighed'. As fair as the webs of *Fíriel* is praise that is given seldom even to works of the Eldar.

* For before the passing of Míriel the Eldar of Valinor had no word for 'dying' in this manner, though they had words for being destroyed (in body) or being slain. But *firë* meant to 'expire', as of one sighing or releasing a deep breath; and at the passing of Míriel she had sighed a great sigh, and then lay still; and those who stood by said *fírië,* 'she hath breathed forth'. This word the Eldar afterwards used of the death of Men. But though this sigh they take to be a symbol of release, and the ceasing of the body's life, the Eldar do not confound the breath of the body with the spirit. This they call, as hath been seen, *fëa* or *fairë,* of which the ancient significance seems to be rather 'radiance'. For though the *fëa* in itself is not visible to bodily eyes, it is in light that the Eldar find the most fitting symbol in bodily terms of the indwelling spirit, 'the light of the house' or *cöacalina* as they also name it. And those in whom the *fëa* is strong and untainted, they say, appear even to mortal eyes to shine at times translucent (albeit faintly), as though a lamp burned within.

At the end of the manuscript of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* are several pages of roughly written 'Notes', and I append here a portion of this material.

(i)

This deliberation of the Valar not wholly feigned. For the Eldar were permitted to attend all conclaves, and many did so (especially those that so deeply concerned them, their fate, and their place in Arda, as did this matter). Reference is made to things that had not at that time happened (is it prophecy?), but that is partly due to later commentators. For the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel' was among the documents of lore most deeply studied and pondered. And as has been seen many questions and answers arising were appended.

[?Thus] questions were also asked concerning the fate and death of Men. All [*?read* Also] concerning other 'speaking', and therefore 'reasonable', kinds: Ents, Dwarves, Trolls, Orcs – and the speaking of beasts such as Huan, or the Great Eagles.

Later my father commented against the beginning of this note that the Eldar would not be present at this debate ('certainly not Finwë!'), and that the Valar would have informed the loremasters of the Eldar concerning it.

(ii)

[The] 'Fate of Men' was also later discussed by the Eldar, when they had met Men and knew them. But they had little evidence, and therefore did not know or assert, but 'supposed' or 'guessed'. One such supposition was that Elves and Men will become one people. Another is that some Men, if they desire it, will be permitted to join the Elves in New Arda, or to visit them there — though it will not be the *home* of Men. The most widely held supposition is that the fate of Men is wholly different, and that they will not be concerned with Arda at all.

At the end of this note my father wrote subsequently: 'But see full treatment of this later in *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth.*' This work constitutes Part Four in this book.

(iii)

Fate of 'Immortal' Elves: ? to inhabit New Arda (or Arda Healed). Probably not, in a physical sense. Since what is meant by 'The Tale of Arda' seems to be this. The World and its Time appears to *begin* and *end* simply because it is bounded, neither infinite nor eternal.

Its finite 'story' when complete will be, like a work of art, beautiful and good (as a whole), and from outside, sc. not *in* Time or its Time, it can be contemplated with wonder and delight — especially by those who have taken part in its 'Tale'. Only in that sense will Elves (or Men) *inhabit* Arda Complete. But New Arda or Arda Unmarred (Healed) would imply a continuance, beyond the End (or Completion). Of that nothing can be surmised. Unless it be this. Since the Elves (and Men) were made *for* Arda, the satisfaction of their nature will require Arda (without the malice of the Marrer): therefore *before the Ending* the Marring will be wholly undone or healed (or absorbed into good, beauty, and joy). In that region of Time and Place the Elves will dwell as their home, but not be confined to it. But no blessed spirits from what is still to us the future can intrude into our own periods of Time. For to contemplate the Tale of Arda the Blessed must (in spirit or whole being) leave the Time of Arda. But others use another analogy, saying that there will indeed be a New Arda, rebuilt from the beginning without Malice, and that the Elves will take part in this from the beginning. It will be in Ëa, say they — for they hold that all Creation of any sort must be in Ëa, proceeding from Eru in the same way, and therefore being of the same Order. They do not believe in contemporaneous non-contiguous worlds except as an amusing fantasy of the mind. They are (say they) either altogether unknowable, even as to whether they are or are not, or else if there are any intersections (however rare) they are only provinces of one Ëa.

At the head of the page on which this note stands my father wrote: 'But see *Athrabeth*': see (ii) above.

NOTES

[These notes refer to the part of the text of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* given from the manuscript A, pp. 233 ff.]

1The spelling *Feänáro* is found also in the first text of the tale, FM 1 (see p. 206, footnote). The name is variously written subsequently in A (*Feänáro*, *Fëanáro*, *Fëanáro)*.

2For the form *Lorien* with short vowel see p. 56 note 2 and p. 148, §3.

3For the doom of Mandos (the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel') in this work see pp. 225–6. In FM 1 the doom, in its earliest

expression, is given at this point in the story (pp. 206–7).

4*your union*: *your* is plural, and not inconsistent with *thy, thee*, *thou* in the same sentence.

5*in Túna*: see p. 193, §52, and p. 282.

6My father first wrote 'an *aimenel*' (> *aimenal*), but changed it immediately to 'a *lirulin',* writing 'lark' in the margin.

7The reference in the footnote here is to the passage in A (omitted in B) which is given in note 22 on p. 230. As in that passage the name *Nolofinwë* is written with a tilde over the *N*. The order of the names of the daughters of Finwë and Indis is as in the emended text of FM 1, p. 207. See further p. 262 and note 10.

8The brackets are in the original.

9Cf. the *Ainulindalë* §13 (p. 11): 'Yet some things there are that [the Ainur] cannot see . . .; for to none but himself has Ilúvatar revealed all that he has in store, and in every age there come forth things that are new and have no foretelling, for they do not spring from the past.'

10It is not told elsewhere that Aulë was the most eager among the Valar that the Elves should be summoned to Valinor. Cf. what is said earlier in *Laws and Customs* (p. 219, found in both texts, but not elsewhere) concerning the motive of the Valar in bringing the Elves to Aman.

11As with the reference to Aulë mentioned in note 10, it is not told elsewhere that Ulmo dissented from the decision of the Valar to bring Melkor to Mandos. Cf. the passage in the first text of the *Valaquenta*, lost in the final form: '[Ulmo's] counsels grew ever away from the mind of Manwë' (p. 202).

12At this point there originally followed: 'Then when others had spoken Manwë answered: 'There is reason in all that hath been said …' Manwë's speech was apparently abandoned after a few lines, and the speeches of Niënna, Ulmo, and Vairë introduced; after which Manwë's speech reappears (p. 244).

13This sentence ('And I doubt not …') was subsequently placed in brackets.

14*nill* is the old negative verb 'will not': thus 'will he or nill he' means 'whether he wills it or wills it not' (surviving as *willy-nilly)*.

15The text stops here, not at the foot of a page. It takes up again on a new sheet, in a rougher script that continues to the end of the

work; but my father paginated this further text continuously with the preceding.

16 *Ingoldo:* the mother-name of Fingolfin (p. 230 note 22).

17 In the account of the marriage of Finwë and Indis in the present work (p. 238) there is no mention of this estrangement, or at least separation. In the final work on Chapter 6 of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, however, it is implied that Indis did not depart with Finwë to Formenos, because it is told that Fëanor's wife Nerdanel would not go with him into banishment and 'asked leave to abide with Indis' (p. 279, §53d).

18 On Míriel's entry into the House of Vairë see p. 263 note 9.

19 *Fíriel:* see the *Etymologies* in Vol.V, p. 381, stem PHIR.

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LATER VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL IN THE *QUENTA SILMARILLION*

The next version of the story was a short typescript derived closely for the most part from that in *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* (pp. 236–9); it is entitled *Of Finwë and Míriel,* and begins: 'Finwë, first lord of the Noldor, had to wife Míriel, who was called the *Serindë*…' (cf. p. 236). There is no indication that it was intended to stand in the text of the *Quenta Silmarillion,* but there can scarcely be any question that my father did so intend it; I will refer to it therefore as '**FM 2**'.

The most important divergence in FM 2 from the text in *Laws and Customs* is at the words (p. 237): 'Then Manwë took pity upon Finwë, and he considered his plea, and when Mandos had spoken his doom as has been recorded, Manwë called Finwë to him …' For the purpose of the inclusion of the story in the narrative of the *Quenta Silmarillion* the judgement of Mandos had obviously to be given at this point (as it had been in the original version, FM 1, p. 206); and in FM 2 the judgement was preceded by a reference to the Debate of the Valar and some indication of the nature of their concern. The word 'Statute' is used here in a wider and a narrower sense: as a name for the record made by the Eldar of all matters relevant to the judgement of Mandos, as well as the title of the actual judgement.

Then Manwë was moved with pity for Finwë, and he considered his plea. But because this seemed to him a great matter and not lightly to be judged, he summoned the Valar in Council. Of the long debate that they held the Elves wrote a record, for their chieftains were permitted to be present.[1] This was called 'The Statute of Finwë and Míriel' and was preserved among the chief of their books of law; for in the debate, before the Statute was at last established by the doom of Námo Mandos, many matters concerning the Eldar, their fate in Arda, their death and re-birth and the nature of their marriage, were examined and judged. And the Valar were greatly concerned to see that all their labour for the guarding of Valinor was of no avail, to keep out evil and the shadow of Melkor, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth and left free or unguarded; and they perceived at last how great was the power of Melkor in Arda, in the making of which as it was* his part was such that all things, save in Aman alone, had an inclination to evil and to perversion from their right forms and courses. Wherefore those whose being began in Arda, and who moreover were by nature a union of spirit and body, drawing the sustenance of the latter from Arda Marred, must ever be, in some degree, liable to grief, to do or to suffer things unnatural; and though dwelling in Aman might be a guard against this evil, it was not a full cure, unless in long ages. And with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, even in the noon-tide of the Blessed Realm, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.

Now this was the doom of Námo in this case, and in all cases where a marriage of the Eldar might be sundered by the death of one only of the partners. 'Marriage among the Eldar is by and for the Living …'

The doom of Mandos in FM 2 differs from the form in *Laws and Customs* (pp. 225–6) only in detail of expression and not at all in substance, except for some expansion at the very end.

'… For it must be clearly understood that, when this will not to return has been solemnly declared and ratified by Mandos, then the living partner may take another spouse lawfully. For it is contrary to the nature of the Eldar to live unwedded, and the Dead may not compel the Living to remain solitary against their will. If therefore the Living take another partner, the will of the Dead shall not be

revoked, but shall be a doom of Mandos. For he will permit none of the Eldar to walk alive in the body who has two spouses living also.'

This in brief was the Doom of Mandos, that was after called the *Statute of Finwë and Míriel.* And when Mandos had spoken as the Mouth of Manwë, the Eldar that heard him asked: 'How shall the will or doom be known?'; and it was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë and the pronouncement of Mandos. In this matter it shall not be lawful for any of the Eldar to judge his own case. For who among the Living can discover the thoughts of the Dead or presume the judgements of Mandos?'

Then Manwë called Finwë to him …

Other divergences from the text of *Laws and Customs* in FM 2 were taken up into the final text (FM 4), which is given in full on pp. 256 ff., and need not be set out here, or if lost from the final text are given in the notes to it.

FM 2 was followed by a further typescript, 'FM 3', made on a different machine (see p. 300). This is expressly a chapter of the *Quenta Silmarillion*, with the title as typed *Of Fëanor and the Darkening of Valinor*, changed later to *Of Finwë and Míriel.* This version was a good deal reduced by omissions, and my father evidently found it unsatisfactory, for he went on to make a further and much more substantial version, '**FM 4**', with which the textual history of the story of Finwë and Míriel comes to an end.

It is clear that when making FM 3 and FM 4 he had the preceding texts in front of him, and that he selected variously from them as he sought to achieve a satisfactory form. To set out all the detail of this development would take much space but serve little purpose, since very little was in fact omitted from the final, 're-expanded' text FM 4; and I give this text here in full.

FM 4 has a general heading *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*, with a subtitle *Of Finwë and Míriel* (the typescript then continues with further 'sub-chapters', to which however my father subsequently gave numbers as chapters in their own right: see p. 299). The paragraph numbers provided for reference do not relate to any numbers previously used, since after the opening the text is entirely different; for the 'LQ' (1951) version of the opening of the chapter see pp. 184–5, §§46, 46a—b.

OF FINWË AND MÍRIEL

§1Now the three kindreds of the Eldar were gathered at last in Valinor, and Melkor was chained. This was the Noontide of the Blessed Realm, the fullness of its glory and bliss, long in tale of years, but in memory too brief. In those days the Eldar became full-grown in stature of body and of mind, and the Noldor advanced ever in skill and knowledge; and the long years were filled with their joyful labours, in which many new things fair and wonderful were devised. It was in this time that the Noldor first made letters, and Rúmil of Túna was the name of the lore-master who first achieved fitting signs for the recording of speech and song, some for graving upon metal or in stone, others for drawing with brush or with pen.

§2It came to pass that in Eldamar, in the house of the King in Tirion, there was born the eldest of the sons of Finwë, and the most beloved. Kurufinwë was his name, but by his mother he was called Fëanor,* Spirit of Fire, by which title he is remembered in all the tales of the Noldor.

§3Míriel was the name of his mother. Her hair was like silver; and she was slender as a white flower in the grass. Soft and sweet was her voice, and she sang as she worked, like rippling water, in music without words. For her hands were more skilled to make things fine and delicate than any other hands even among the Noldor. By her the craft of needles was devised; and if but one fragment of the broideries of Míriel were seen in Middle-earth it would be held dearer than a king's realm; for the richness of her devices and the fire of their colours were as manifold and as bright as the wealth of leaf and flower and wing in the fields of Yavanna. Therefore she was called *Serinde*. †

§4The love of Finwë and Míriel was great and full of joy, for it began in the Blessed Realm and in days of mirth. But in the bearing of her son she was consumed in spirit and body, so that almost all strength seemed to have passed from her; and when she had named him2 she said to Finwë: 'Never again shall I bear a child, for strength that would have nourished the life of many has gone forth into Fëanor.'

§5Finwë was greatly grieved, for the Noldor were in the youth of their days, but were still few in number, and he desired to bring forth many children into the bliss of Aman. He said therefore:

‘Surely there is healing in Aman? Here all weariness can find rest.’

§6But when Míriel still languished, Finwë sought the counsel of Manwë, and Manwë delivered her to the care of Irmo in Lorien.3 At their parting (for a little while as he thought) Finwë was sad, for it seemed an unhappy chance that the mother should depart and miss the beginning at least of the childhood days of her son.

§7‘Unhappy it is indeed,’ said Míriel, ‘and I would weep, if I were not so weary. But hold me blameless in this, and in all that may come after. Rest now I must. Farewell, dear lord!’

§8She spoke no clearer than this at that time, but in her heart she yearned not only for sleep and rest but release from the labour of living. She went then to Lorien and laid her down to sleep beneath a silver tree; but though she seemed to sleep, her spirit indeed departed from her body and passed in silence to the keeping of Mandos, and abode in the house of Vairë.4 The maidens of Estë tended her fair body so that it remained unwithered, but she did not return.

§9Finwë lived in sorrow; and he went often to the gardens of Lorien, and sitting beneath the silver willows beside the body of his wife he called her by her names. But it was of no avail, and Finwë alone in all the Blessed Realm was bereaved of joy. After a while he went to Lorien no more, for it increased his grief to see the fair form of Míriel that would not hear his call. All his love he gave now to his son; for Fëanor in childhood was like his mother in voice and countenance, and Finwë was to him both father and mother and there was a double bond of love upon them.

§10Yet Finwë was not content, being young and eager; and he still desired to have more children to bring mirth into his house. When, therefore, twelve years had passed he went again to Manwë. ‘My Lord,’ he said, ‘behold! I am bereaved. Alone among the Eldar I have no wife, and must hope for no sons save one, and for no daughter. Whereas Ingwë and Olwë beget many children in the bliss of Aman. Must I remain ever so? For my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again ever from the house of Vairë.’

§11Then Manwë was moved with pity for Finwë; but because this seemed to him a great matter, and the coming of death (albeit of free will) into the Blessed Realm a grave portent not lightly to be judged, he summoned the Valar in Council, and bade the chieftains and loremasters of the Eldar also to be present. Of the long debate of the Valar the Eldar wrote a record. This they called *Namna Finwë*

Míriello, the Statute of Finwë and Míriel,[5] and it was preserved among the books of their Law; for in the debate many matters concerning the Eldar, their fate in Arda, and their death and re-birth, were examined and judged. For the Valar were greatly concerned to see that their labour for the guarding of Valinor was unavailing, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth, and they perceived now more clearly how great was the hurt that Melkor of old had done to the substance of Arda, so that all those who were incarnate and drew the sustenance of their bodies from Arda Marred, must ever be liable to grief, to do or to suffer things unnatural in Arda Unmarred. And this marring could not now be wholly undone, not even by Melkor repentant; for power had gone forth from him and could not be recalled, but would continue to work according to the will that had set it in motion. And with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.

§12But when all was said, Manwë commanded Mandos to speak and announce his judgement. Then Mandos stood upon the Doom-hill and said:

'It is the way of Life that Ilúvatar hath ordained for you, his children, as ye know well, that the life of the Quendi shall not end until the end of Arda; and that they shall take each one spouse only and have no other in their life, while Arda endureth. But herein no account is taken of Death, which cometh from the marring of Arda. This doom is, therefore, now made by the right of lawgiving that Ilúvatar committed to Manwë.

> When the spirit of a spouse, husband or wife, shall for any cause pass into the keeping of Mandos, then the living may be permitted lawfully to take another spouse, if the former union be dissolved for ever.

§13'How shall a marriage be ended for ever? By the will of the Dead, or by the doom of Mandos. By the will of the Dead, if they refuse ever to return to the life of the body; by the doom of Mandos, if he will not permit them to return. For a union that was for the life of Arda is ended, if it cannot be resumed within the life of Arda.

§14'We say "by the will of the Dead", for it would be unjust that the Living should for their own purposes confine the Dead in Mandos, denying to them all hope of return. It is also unjust that the Dead by refusal of life should compel the Living to remain solitary until the End; and therefore we have declared that in such

case the Living may take another spouse. But understand well that if this be done, then the refusal of life by the Dead shall be irrevocable, and they shall never again return to life in the body. For none among the Quendi shall have two spouses at one time awake and alive.

'This is the doom of Námo Mandos in this matter.'

§15When Mandos had spoken thus, the Eldar who were present asked: 'How then shall the will or the doom be known?' It was answered: 'Only by recourse to Manwë, and by the pronouncement of Mandos. For who among the Living can discover the will of the Dead, or presume the judgements of Mandos?'

§16Then Manwë called Finwë to him, and said: 'Thou hast heard the doom that has been declared. If Míriel, thy wife, will not return, your[6] marriage is ended, and thou hast leave to take another wife. But this is permission, not counsel. For the severance cometh from the marring of Arda; and those who accept this permission accept the marring, whereas the bereaved who remain steadfast belong in spirit and will to Arda Unmarred. This is a grave matter upon which the fate of many may depend. Be not in haste!'

§17Finwë answered: 'I am in no haste, My Lord, and my heart has no desire, save the hope that when this doom is made clear to Míriel, she may yet relent and set a term to my bereavement.'

§18Vairë with whom Míriel dwelt made known to her the doom,[7] and spoke also of the sorrow of Finwë. But Míriel answered: 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I do not desire ever to return to it. My life has gone out into Fëanor, my son. That gift I have given to him whom I loved. I can give no more. Beyond Arda this may be healed, but not within it.'

§19Then Vairë said to Mandos: 'The spirit of Míriel hath dwelt with me, and I know it. It is small, but it is strong and obdurate: one of those who having said *this will I do* make their words a law irrevocable unto themselves. Unless constrained, she will not return to life or to Finwë, not though he should wait until the ageing of the world.'[8]

§20But Mandos said: 'It is not lawful for the Valar to constrain the Dead to return'; and he summoned the spirit of Míriel to appear before him. 'Thy will must rule in this matter, spirit of Míriel, once wife of Finwë,' he said. 'In Mandos thou shalt abide. But take heed! Thou art of the Quendi, and even if thou refuse the body, thou must

remain in Arda and within the time of its history. The Eldar are not as the Valar. Their spirits are less strong to stand than thou deemest. Do not wonder, then, if thy will should change in time, and this doom which thou takest upon thyself become grievous to thee. Yea, and to many others!'

§21But the spirit of Míriel remained silent. Mandos therefore accepted her choice, and she went then to the Halls of Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace.*9 Nonetheless Mandos declared that a space of twelve years should pass between the declaration of the will of the Dead and the pronouncement of the doom of disunion.

§22During that time Fëanor dwelt in the care of his father. Soon he began to show forth the skills in hand and mind of both Finwë and Míriel. As he grew from childhood he became ever more like Finwë in stature and countenance, but in mood he resembled Míriel rather. His will was strong and determined, and he pursued all his purposes both eagerly and steadfastly. Few ever changed his courses by counsel, none by force.

§23It came to pass that after three years more Finwë took as second wife Indis the fair. She was in all ways unlike Míriel. She was not of the Noldor but of the Vanyar, being the sister of Ingwë; and she was golden-haired and tall and exceedingly swift of foot. She did not labour with her hands, but made music and wove words into song; and there was ever light and mirth about her while the bliss of Aman lasted.

§24She loved Finwë dearly; for her heart had turned to him long before, while the Vanyar still dwelt with the Noldor in Túna. In those days she had looked upon the Lord of the Noldor, and he seemed to her fairest and noblest of the Eldar, dark-haired and white of brow, eager of face but with eyes full of thought; and his voice and mastery of words delighted her. Therefore she remained unwedded when her people removed to Valinor, and she walked often alone in the friths and fields of the Valar, filling them with music.

§25Now Ingwë, hearing of the strange grief of Finwë, and desiring to lift up his heart and withdraw him from vain mourning in Lorien, had sent messages bidding him to leave Túna for a while, and to come and dwell for a season in the full light of the Trees. Finwë thanked him but did not go, while there was yet hope that Míriel would return. But when the doom of Mandos was spoken, it

came into his heart that he must seek to build his life anew. ‘Maybe, there is healing in the light of Laurelin and hope in the blossom of Telperion,’ he said. ‘I will take the counsel of Ingwë.’

§26Therefore one day, when Fëanor was far abroad walking in the mountains in the strength of his youth, Finwë arose and went forth from Túna alone, and he passed through the Kalakiryan, and went towards the house of Ingwë upon the west slopes of Oiolossë. His coming was unheralded and unforeseen; and when Indis saw Finwë climbing the paths of the Mountain, and the light of Laurelin was behind him as a glory, without forethought she sang suddenly in great joy, and her voice went up as a song of the *lirulin** in the sky. Then Finwë heard that song falling from above, and he looked up and saw Indis in the golden light, and he knew in that moment that she loved him and had long done so. Then his heart turned at last to her; and he believed that this chance, as it seemed, had been granted for the comfort of them both. ‘Behold!’ he said. ‘There is indeed healing of grief in Aman!’

§27In one year from their meeting upon the Mountain Finwë, King of the Noldor, wedded Indis, sister of Ingwë; and the Vanyar and Noldor for the most part rejoiced. In Indis was first proved true the saying: The loss of one may be the gain of another; but this saying also she found true: The house remembers the builder, though others may dwell in it after. For Finwë loved her dearly, and was glad again; and she bore him five children whom he loved;†10 yet the shadow of Míriel did not depart from the house of Finwë, nor from his heart; and of all whom he loved Fëanor had ever the chief share of his thought.

§28The wedding of the father was not pleasing to Fëanor; and though it did not lessen the love between them, Fëanor had no great love for Indis or her children. As soon as he might he lived apart from them, exploring the land of Aman, or busying himself with the lore and the crafts in which he delighted. In those unhappy things which later came to pass, and in which Fëanor was the leader, many saw the effect of this breach in the house of Finwë, judging that if Finwë had endured his loss and had been content with the fathering of his mighty son, the courses of Fëanor would have been otherwise, and great sorrow and evil might have been prevented. Yet the children of Indis were great and glorious, and their children also; and if they had not lived, the history of the Eldar would have been the poorer.11

1See Note (i) following *Laws and Customs* and my father's comment on it, pp. 250–1.

2In FM 2 it is said, following *Laws and Customs* p. 236, that Míriel gave the name Fëanáro to her son 'at birth', and at this point a long footnote is added on the subject of name-giving:

> According to the custom of the Eldar. In addition to their 'true names', which were their father-name and their chosen name, they often received other or 'added names'. Of these the most important were the mother-names. Mothers often gave to their children special names of their own choosing, the most notable of which were 'names of insight'. In the hour of birth, or on some other occasion of moment, a mother might give to her child a name that referred to dominant features of its nature as she perceived it, or that came of foresight and referred to its special fate. Names of this kind might become more widely used than the father-name (which was often only the name of the father repeated or modified); and if the child adopted a mother-name as a 'chosen name', then it became also a 'true name'. Curufinwë took Fëanáro as his chosen name. Fëanor is the form that this name took in the later speech of the Exiled Noldor.

This represents an extreme compression of the section on *Naming* in *Laws and Customs*, pp. 214 ff.

3*Lorien* was still the form in *Laws and Customs* and in the texts FM 2 and FM 3; in the present text FM 4 my father typed *Lórien*, but then altered it back to *Lorien.*

4*and abode in the house of Vairë*: these words first appear in the present text; see note 9.

5On the application of the term 'Statute' here see p. 254.

6See p. 252, note 4.

7FM 2 as typed had here, expanding the passage in *Laws and Customs*, p. 237: 'But Mandos summoned Míriel, and made known to her the Doom …' This was later emended to read: 'Vairë, with whom Míriel dwelt, made known to her the Doom…'

8These words of Vairë's are derived from her intervention in the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs*, p. 244.

9The footnote at this point is derived from *Laws and Customs* (pp.

249–50), although Míriel's entry into the house of Vairë stands there at the end of a long account recording the coming of Finwë to the halls of Mandos, his renunciation of re-birth, and the re-entry of the *fëa* of Míriel into her body that still lay in Lorien. In FM 2 there is no mention of Míriel after the words 'she went then to the Halls of Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace.' In FM 3 the text at this point is very compressed, and reads (in place of FM 4 §§18–23, all of which is present in FM 2 apart from the present footnote):

> … 'I came hither to escape from the body, and I will not return to it'; and after ten years had passed the doom of disunion was spoken. And Míriel has dwelt ever since in the house of Vairë, and it is her part to record there the histories of the Kin of Finwë and all the deeds of the Noldor.
>
> It came to pass that after three more years Finwë took as second wife Indis the Fair…

These texts are thus altogether inconsistent on the subject of the ultimate fate of Míriel. In particular the references to the House of Vairë are confusing. It was told in AAm (p. 49, §3) that 'Vairë the Weaver dwells with Mandos', and the same is implied in QS §6 (V.205, retained almost unchanged in the *Valaquenta):* 'Vairë the weaver is his wife, who weaves all things that have been in time in her storied webs, and the halls of Mandos … are clothed therewith.' In *Laws and Customs* (p. 236) the spirit of Míriel departed from her body in Lorien 'and passed in silence *to the halls of Mandos',* and Finwë said to Manwë 'my heart warns me that Míriel will not return again *from the house of Vairë'*; in the debate of the Valar before the proclamation of the 'Statute' Vairë said that 'the *fëa* of Míriel is with me' (p. 244). But afterwards Niënna asked of Mandos that Míriel should be 'removed from the Halls of Waiting, and taken into the service of Vairë' (p. 248); this was refused, and when Finwë was slain their *fëar* encountered each other '*in Mandos*'. Thereafter the *fëa* of Míriel was 'released', and re-united with her body 'she went to the doors of the House of Vairë and prayed to be admitted; and this prayer was granted, although in that House none of the Living dwelt nor have others ever entered it in the body.' Thus within the same text 'the house of Vairë' is both equated with 'the halls of Mandos' and distinguished from them.

In FM 4 (§8) the spirit of Míriel 'passed in silence to the *keeping* of Mandos, and abode *in the house of Vairë*' (see note 4 above); and in §18 'Vairë with whom Míriel dwelt made known to her the doom.' After Míriel's refusal of return 'she went then to the Halls of Waiting appointed to the Eldar and was left in peace' (§21), but (according to the footnote to this paragraph) 'after a time she was permitted to *return* to the house of Vairë.' Thus in this final text it seems certain that Vairë in some sense dwelt apart.

Very curiously, my father subsequently bracketed the footnote and wrote against it 'Omit', commenting beside it: 'Alter this. What happened when Finwë came to Mandos?' Yet he had already answered this question very fully in *Laws and Customs*, where indeed it was the very fact of the coming of Finwë to the halls of Mandos that led to the release of Míriel and her admission to the house of Vairë.

10 In FM 2 the footnote on the names of the children of Indis read thus:

> Three daughters and two sons, in this order: Findis, Nolofinwë, Faniel, Arafinwë, and Irimë. The mother-name of Nolofinwë was Ingoldo, signifying that he came of both the kin of the Ingar and of the Noldor. The mother-name of Arafinwë was Ingalaurë, for he had the golden hair of his mother's people, and that endured in his line afterwards.

This was derived from a passage in the A-text of *Laws and Customs* (p. 230 note 22) which was omitted in B; in that however the daughters were not mentioned. The name *Írimë* (for later *Finvain*) goes back to the original text FM 1 (p. 207). In the note in FM 3 the names are as in FM 4, but those of the sons are spelt *Fingolphin* and *Finarphin*, and this comment is added: 'These names are given in the forms of the later tongue in Middle-earth (save Findis and Faniel who did not leave Valinor).'

In a very late essay (1968 or later; referred to in IV. 174) my father said that the mother-name of Finrod Felagund was *Ingoldo*, but he gave to it a wholly different significance. The term *Ingar* ('people of Ingwë') occurring in *Laws and Customs* text A (p. 230 note 22) and here, has not been found before.

11 FM 2 ends differently after 'might have been prevented':

> Thus it is that the cases in which the Eldar can marry again

or desire to do so are rare; and rarer still are those who do this even when it is lawful; for the sorrow and strife in the house of Finwë are graven in the memory of the Noldor Elves.

This derives from *Laws and Customs*, p. 239. In FM 3 the conclusion is as in FM 4, but after 'and great sorrow and evil might have been prevented' it continues: 'But this judgement was but a guess. Certain it is that the children of Indis were great and glorious …' The later ending derives in its thought from the prophecy of Mandos in *Laws and Customs* (p. 247) at the final proclamation of the 'Statute of Finwë and Míriel'.

A note on certain conceptions in the story of Finwë and Míriel

The nature of Elvish 'immortality' and 'death' had been stated very long before in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.76):

> Thither [i.e. to Mandos] in after days fared the Elves of all the clans who were by illhap slain with weapons or did die of grief for those that were slain — and only so might the Eldar die, and then it was only for a while. There Mandos spake their doom, and there they waited in the darkness, dreaming of their past deeds, until such time as he appointed when they might again be born into their children, and go forth to laugh and sing again.

And in the original *Music of the Ainur* (I.59) it is said of the Elves that 'dying they are reborn in their children, so that their number minishes not, nor grows.'

In the *Quenta* (IV.100, deriving from the 'Sketch of the Mythology', IV.21) the idea of rebirth is qualified:

> Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed and grew from age to age, and no sickness or pestilence brought them death. But they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men, and some waned and wasted with sorrow till they faded from the earth. Slain or fading their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos to wait a thousand years, or the pleasure of Mandos according to their deserts, before they were recalled to free life in Valinor, or were reborn, it is said, into their own children.

In QS the corresponding passage (§85, V.246) was much enlarged:

> Immortal were the Elves, and their wisdom waxed from age to age, and no sickness nor pestilence brought death to them. Yet their bodies were of the stuff of earth and could be destroyed, and in those days they were more like to the bodies of Men, and to the earth, since they had not so long been inhabited by the fire of the spirit, which consumeth them

> from within in the courses of time. Therefore they could perish in the tumults of the world, and stone and water had power over them, and they could be slain with weapons in those days, even by mortal Men. And outside Valinor they tasted bitter grief, and some wasted and waned with sorrow, until they faded from the earth. Such was the measure of their mortality foretold in the Doom of Mandos spoken in Eruman. But if they were slain or wasted with grief, they died not from the earth, and their spirits went back to the halls of Mandos, and there waited, days or years, even a thousand, according to the will of Mandos and their deserts. Thence they are recalled at length to freedom, either as spirits, taking form according to their own thought, as the lesser folk of the divine race; or else, it is said, they are at times re-born into their own children, and the ancient wisdom of their race does not perish or grow less.

At the end of the *Ainulindalë* it is said (I cite the final text D, p. 37, but the passage goes back almost unchanged to the pre-*Lord of the Rings* version, V.163):

> For the Eldar die not till the world dies, unless they are slain or waste in grief (and to both these seeming deaths they are subject); neither does age subdue their strength, unless one grow weary of ten thousand centuries; and dying they are gathered in the halls of Mandos in Valinor, whence often they return and are reborn among their children.

And in the Doom of the Noldor as it appears in AAm (§154, p. 117) it was declared:

> For know now that though Eru appointed unto you to die not in Eä, and no sickness may assail you, yet slain may ye be, and slain ye shall be: by weapon and by torment and by grief; and your houseless spirits shall come then to Mandos. There long shall ye abide and yearn for your bodies and find little pity though all whom ye have slain should entreat for you.

The meaning of this, I feel sure, is: It is contrary indeed to the 'right nature' of the Elves that they should die, but nonetheless death may come to them.

The testimony of all these passages (and others not cited), early and late, is that Elvish 'death' (or 'seeming death', in the words of the *Ainulindalë*) was always a possible fate, deriving from their nature as incarnate beings. But there is a constant threat of ambiguity imposed by the words that must be used. The Elves cannot 'die' in the sense that Men 'die', since Men (by the Gift of Ilúvatar) depart from the 'world' never to return, whereas the Elves cannot depart from it so long as it lasts. In the legend of Beren and Lúthien Mandos offered her a choice: and the doom that she chose

was that the destiny decreed by her nature should be changed. ‘So it was that *alone of the Eldalië she has died indeed*, and left the world long ago’ (*The Silmarillion p.* 187). But the Elves can nonetheless suffer the severance of spirit from body, which is ‘death’. Thus it may be said that the essential distinction between the (possible) death of Elves and the (inevitable) death of Men is a difference of *destiny after death.* See V.304; and cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 218: ‘From their beginnings the chief difference between Elves and Men lay in the fate and nature of their spirits. The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny.’

In a draft for a letter written in October 1958 (see p. 300) my father discussed the meaning of the ‘immortality’ of the Elves (*Letters* no. *212*):

> In this mythical ‘prehistory’ *immortality*, strictly longevity coextensive with the life of Arda, was part of the given nature of the Elves; beyond the End nothing was revealed. *Mortality*, that is a short life-span having no relation to the life of Arda, is spoken of as the given nature of Men …
>
> In the Elvish legends there is record of a strange case of an Elf (Míriel mother of Fëanor) that tried to *die*, which had disastrous results, leading to the ‘Fall’ of the High-elves. The Elves were not subject to disease, but they could be ‘slain’: that is their bodies could be destroyed, or mutilated so as to be unfit to sustain life. But this did not lead naturally to ‘death’: they were rehabilitated and reborn and eventually recovered memory of all their past: they remained ‘identical’. But Míriel wished to abandon being, and refused rebirth.

‘But Míriel wished to *abandon being*’: this is a dark saying. There is nothing in any of the accounts to suggest that she desired annihilation, the ending of her existence in any form. In *Laws and Customs* (p. 222) my father wrote that ‘some *fëar* in grief or weariness gave up hope, and turning away from life relinquished their bodies, even though these might have been healed or were indeed unhurt. Few of these … desired to be re-born, not at least until they had been long in “waiting”; some never returned.’ This surely accords with what is told of the death of Míriel.

It seems, at any rate, that when my father said here that Míriel ‘tried to *die*’ he meant that she sought a ‘true death’: not a ‘seeming death’, but a departure for ever out of Arda. Yet this could not be: for death in this sense was contrary to ‘the given nature of the

Elves', appointed by Ilúvatar; and indeed, in *Of Finwë and Míriel* (§20) Mandos spoke to the *fëa* of Míriel, saying: 'In Mandos thou shalt abide. But take heed! Thou art of the Quendi, and even if thou refuse the body, *thou must remain in Arda and within the time of its history*.'

But the 'seeming death' to which the Elves are subject had never yet appeared in Aman in all the long years since the Vanyar and the Noldor came to Eldamar. In the *Annals of Aman*, written before the story of Míriel had arisen, Fëanor spoke before the Valar after the Death of the Trees (§§120–1, p. 107):

> '… Mayhap I can unlock my jewels, but never again shall I make their like; and if they be broken, then broken will be my heart, and I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru.'
>
> 'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they understood not his word…

Mandos knew that Morgoth had murdered Finwë at Formenos, 'and spilled the first blood of the Children of Ilúvatar' (§122).

Against the words of Mandos my father afterwards noted on the AAm typescript (p. 127, §120): 'This no longer fits even the Eldar of Valinor. Finwë Fëanor's father was first to be slain of the High-elves, Míriel Fëanor's mother the first to die', and on the text itself he changed Fëanor's 'I shall die' to 'I shall be slain'. It might seem that a distinction is made here between 'dying' and 'being slain', but I do not think that this is the case. What is meant is simply that Míriel was the first to die, and Finwë was the second to die — but the first to be slain. After the story of Míriel had entered Fëanor could no longer say 'I shall die: first of all the Children of Eru'; my father therefore, wishing to retain the pregnant words of Mandos 'Not the first', altered Fëanor's to 'I shall be slain'.

Much later, this passage in AAm was used again in the new work on the *Quenta Silmarillion* (see p. 293), taking this form:

> '… and I shall be slain, first of all the Children of Eru.'
>
> 'Not the first,' quoth Mandos, but they did not understand his words, thinking that he spoke of Míriel.

The meaning here seems to be that those who heard the words of Mandos (speaking of the murder of Finwë as yet unknown to them) thought that he spoke of Míriel, because she was the only one of the Eldar whom they knew to have died; but since Míriel had not been *slain* 'they did not understand his words'. Even so, it cannot be supposed that Finwë was the first to be slain of the Children of Eru; cf. my father's note on the AAm typescript 'This no longer fits *even*

the Eldar of Valinor', and the passage in *Laws and Customs*, p. 218: 'This destruction of the *hröa*, causing death or the unhousing of the *fëa,* was soon experienced by the immortal Eldar, when they awoke in the marred and overshadowed realm of Arda.'

It is made plain in *Laws and Customs* and in the new 'sub-chapter' of the *Quenta Silmarillion* that the primary significance of the death of Míriel is that it was the first appearance of Death in Aman; and the debate was concerned with this *unlooked-for event*, and its implications for the laws that governed the life of deathless Aman. In *Laws and Customs* (p. 241) Yavanna declared that 'the Shadow … has marred the very *hrón* of Arda, and all Middle-earth is perverted by the evil of Melkor … Therefore none of those who awoke in Middle-earth, and there dwelt before they came hither, have come here wholly free. The failing of the strength of the body of Míriel may then be ascribed, with some reason, to the evil of Arda Marred, and her death be a thing unnatural.' In FM 2 (p. 254) this thought, represented as a new perception on the part of the Valar, takes this form:

> And the Valar were greatly concerned to see that all their labour for the guarding of Valinor was of no avail, to keep out evil and the shadow of Melkor, if any thing, living or unliving, was brought thither out of Middle-earth and left free or unguarded; and they perceived at last how great was the power of Melkor in Arda, in the making of which as it was his part was such that all things, *save in Aman alone*, had an inclination to evil and to perversion from their right forms and courses. Wherefore those whose being began in Arda, and who moreover were by nature a union of spirit and body, drawing the sustenance of the latter from Arda Marred, must ever be, in some degree, liable to grief, to do or to suffer things unnatural; and though dwelling in Aman might be a guard against this evil, it was not a full cure, unless in long ages.

This was largely retained in the final text FM 4 (p. 258, §11), though without the references to Aman; and Mandos expressly declared that Death (i.e. of the Firstborn) is a consequence of the Marring of Arda (§*12*).

In the draft letter of 1958 cited above in reference to the death of Míriel my father continued:

> I suppose a difference between this Myth and what may be perhaps called Christian mythology is this. In the latter the Fall of Man is subsequent to and a consequence (though not a necessary consequence) of the 'Fall of the Angels': a rebellion of created free-will at a higher level than Man; but it is not clearly held (and in many versions is not

held at all) that this affected the 'World' in its nature: evil was brought in from outside, by Satan. In this Myth the rebellion of created free-will precedes creation of the World (Eä); Eä has in it, subcreatively introduced, evil, rebellious, discordant elements of its own nature already when the *Let it Be* was spoken. The Fall or corruption, therefore, of all things in it and all inhabitants of it, was a possibility if not inevitable.

In *Of Finwë and Míriel* all this is presented as a new perception, or at least as a greatly sharpened perception, by the Valar; and 'with this thought a shadow passed over the hearts of the Valar, presage of the sorrows which the Children should bring into the world.' One might wonder that it needed the death of Míriel to bring the Powers of Arda to this perception. One might wonder also how it should be that even in Aman none of the Eldar were drowned in the sea or missed their footing in the mountains and fell from a great height. This latter consideration is indeed countered to some degree by what is told of the corporeal nature of the Elves. Their bodies are described as closely analogous to those of mortal Men, but against this is to be set the following passage from *Laws and Customs* (p. 218):

> The *fëar* of the Elves were destined to dwell in Arda for all the life of Arda, and the death of the flesh did not abrogate that destiny. Their *fëar* were tenacious therefore of life 'in the raiment of Arda', and far excelled the spirits of Men in power over that 'raiment', even from the first days protecting their bodies from many ills and assaults (such as disease), and healing them swiftly of injuries, so that they recovered from wounds that would have proved fatal to Men.

This, however, while diminishing the physical vulnerability of the Elves as compared with Men, does not alter the fact that the actual destruction of such bodies by violence is an inherent possibility in the nature of Arda: 'though the *fëa* cannot be broken or disintegrated by any violence from without, the *hröa* can be hurt and may be utterly destroyed' *(ibid.)*. Very explicit are the words of Manwë in his final address to the Valar before the proclamation of the Statute (p. 244) :

> [The Elves] came into Arda Marred, and were destined to do so, and to endure the Marring, even though they came in their beginning from beyond Eä. … We may say, therefore, that the Elves are destined to know 'death' in their mode, being sent into a world which contains 'death', and having a form for which 'death' is possible. For though by their prime nature, unmarred, they rightly dwell as spirit and body coherent, yet these are two things, not the same, and their severance

(which is 'death') is a possibility inherent in their union.
But it is made plain that while, on the one hand, this possibility of 'death' for the Elves was a consequence of the Marring of Arda by Melkor, on the other hand the death of Míriel so gravely disquieted the Valar because it was the first that had taken place in Aman. Is it to be supposed, then, that until this time the Valar had been deluded, believing falsely that the incarnate Elves, *by the fact of their dwelling in Aman*, were protected from all possibility of the severance of spirit and body, in any of the ways that such severance might come about in Middle-earth — believing indeed that the Marring of Arda and the possibility of death for the incarnate had effect only east of the Great Sea, and only now discovering the falsity of this belief when Míriel died? (See the passage from 'text VII' on p. 400.)

The 'immortality' of the Elves (co-extensive with the 'life' of Arda), their deaths and rebirths, were deep-laid and fundamental elements in my father's conception. At this time he was subjecting these ideas to an elaborate analysis, and extending that analysis to the ideas of 'deathless Aman' and the significance of Melkor in the perversion of Creation as it had been expounded to the Ainur by Ilúvatar in the Beginning. This analysis is, in part, presented as a debate among the Valar themselves, in which they reach new perceptions concerning the nature of Arda; but the theoretical discussion of moral and natural laws is given an immediate dimension from its arising out of the strange story of the griefs of Finwë and Míriel. That story was retained in the published *Silmarillion*, but with no intimation of its implications for the Rulers of Arda and the loremasters of the Elves.

In these writings is seen my father's preoccupation in the years following the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* with the philosophical aspects of the mythology and its systemisation. Of the deliberations of the Gods the sages of the Eldar preserved a record among the books of their law. How far away from these grave Doctors seems the 'hornéd moon' that rode over Ælfwine's ship off the coasts of the Lonely Isle (II.321), as 'the long night of Faërie held on'! Ælfwine is still present as communicator and commentator; but there have been great changes in Elfinesse.

★

OF FËANOR AND THE UNCHAINING OF MELKOR

The previous 'sub-chapter' *Of Finwë and Míriel* has reached only, in terms of the earlier Chapter 6, to the end of §46b (p. 185). For the next section there are only two late texts, continuing straight on in the typescripts that I have called FM 3 and FM 4 (pp. 255–6): from this point it is convenient to call them 'A' and 'B'. A, though a finished text, is in effect a draft for the second typescript (B) that clearly followed it immediately, and need not be further considered beyond noting that it does not contain the new passage about Fëanor's wife, and that the title is *Of Fëanor and the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor:* this text makes no further subdivisions.

In this section my father did not greatly alter (except by the addition concerning Fëanor's wife) the text of LQ, §§46c—48, and the changes can be recorded without giving the whole text again. Very minor differences are not mentioned.

§46c The only difference here from LQ is that Fëanor's hair is said to have been 'raven-dark'. But at the end of the paragraph, after 'Seldom were the hand and mind of Fëanor at rest', the following passage was added:

> While still in early youth Fëanor wedded Nerdanel, a maiden of the Noldor; at which many wondered, for she was not among the fairest of her people. But she was strong, and free of mind, and filled with the desire of knowledge. In her youth she loved to wander far from the dwellings of the Noldor, either beside the long shores of the Sea or in the hills; and thus she and Fëanor had met and were companions in many journeys. Her father, Mahtan, was a great smith, and among those of the Noldor most dear to the heart of Aulë. Of Mahtan Nerdanel learned much of crafts that women of the Noldor seldom used: the making of things of metal and stone. She made images, some of the Valar in their forms visible, and many others of men and women of the Eldar, and these were so like that their friends, if they knew not her art, would speak to them; but many things she wrought also of her own thought in shapes strong and strange but beautiful.
>
> She also was firm of will, but she was slower and more patient than Fëanor, desiring to understand minds rather than to master them. When in company with others she would often sit still listening to their words, and watching their

gestures and the movements of their faces. Her mood she bequeathed in part to some of her sons, but not to all. Seven sons she bore to Fëanor, and it is not recorded in the histories of old that any others of the Eldar had so many children. With her wisdom at first she restrained Fëanor when the fire of his heart burned too hot; but his later deeds grieved her and they became estranged.

Now even while Fëanor and the craftsmen of the Noldor wrought with delight, foreseeing no end to their labours, and while the sons of Indis grew to manhood, the Noontide of Valinor was drawing to its close.

The text then continues as in LQ §47 (p. 185). — The name *Nerdanel* of Fëanor's wife was an emendation: the original name as typed was *Istarnië*.

§47 LQ 'at the feet of the gods' becomes 'at the feet of the Mighty'.

§48 'and most of all in the healing of the many hurts that he had done to the world. His prayer Niënna aided, but the others were silent.'

From LQ 'Wherefore in a while he was allowed to go freely about the land' the text was changed:

Therefore after a time Manwë gave him leave to go freely about the land. The evil that Melkor had wrought of old in wrath and malice was beyond full healing [cf. p. 259, §11], but his aid, if he would truly give it, would do more than aught else to amend the world. For Melkor was in his beginning the greatest of the Powers, and Manwë believed that if he were repentant he would regain in great part his first might and wisdom. On this path he judged that Melkor was now set, and would persevere if he were treated without grudge. Jealousy and rancour Manwë was slow to perceive, for he knew them not in himself; and he did not understand that all love had departed from the mind of Melkor for ever.

Ulmo, it is said, was not deceived; and Tulkas clenched his hands whenever he saw Melkor his foe go by, for if Tulkas is slow to wrath, he is slow also to forget. But they obeyed the ruling of Manwë; for those who will defend authority against rebellion must not themselves rebel.

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OF THE SILMARILS AND THE UNREST OF THE NOLDOR

This chapter-heading is present only in the second of the two late typescripts (B), and it was there written in subsequently. The first of the texts (A) was still fairly close to LQ §§49–54; though many changes were introduced they are for the most part of slight if any narrative significance. Here again it was effectively a draft for the second text and need not be further considered. The second text, however, was much altered and expanded in the latter part of the 'sub-chapter'.

§49Most fair of all was Melkor's countenance to the Eldar, and he aided them in many works, if they would let him. The Vanyar indeed held him in suspicion, for they dwelt in the light of the Trees and were content; and to the Teleri he gave little heed, deeming them of little worth, tools too weak for his designs. But the Noldor took delight in the hidden knowledge that he could reveal to them; and some hearkened to words that it would have been better for them never to have heard.

§49aIn after days Melkor indeed declared that Fëanor had learned much art from him in secret; but that was only one of the many lies of Melkor, envying the skill of Fëanor and desiring to claim part in his works. For none of the Eldalië ever hated Melkor more than Fëanor son of Finwë, and though he was snared in the webs of Melkor's malice against the Valar, he held no converse with him in person, and he took no counsel from him. Indeed he sought the counsel of none that dwelt in Aman, great or small, save only and for a little while of Nerdanel the wise, his wife.

§49bIn that time, but before Melkor was given his freedom within the land of Aman, those things were wrought that afterwards were the most renowned of all the works of the Elvenfolk. For Fëanor, being now come to his full might, was filled with a new thought, or maybe some shadow of foreboding came to him of the doom that drew near; and he pondered how the Light of the Trees, the glory of the Blessed Realm, might be preserved imperishable. Then he began a long and secret labour, and he summoned all his lore, and his power, and his subtle craft, for the making of jewels more marvellous than any that had yet been devised, whose beauty should last beyond the End.

Three jewels he made, and named them the Silmarils. A living fire burned within them that was blended of the Light of the Two

Trees. Of their own radiance they shone, even in the dark of the deepest treasury; yet all lights that fell upon them, however faint, they received and returned again in marvellous hues to which their own inner fire gave a surpassing loveliness. No mortal flesh, nor hands unclean, nor anything of evil will could touch them, but it was scorched and withered; neither could they be broken by any strength within the Kingdom of Arda. The Silmarils the Eldar prized beyond all other treasures in Aman or upon Earth; and Varda hallowed them, and Mandos foretold that the fates of Arda, earth, sea, and air, lay locked within them. The heart of Fëanor was fast bound to these things that he himself had made.

§50Then Melkor lusted also for the Silmarils; and from that time inflamed by this desire the malice of his heart grew greater, though naught of it could yet be seen in the semblance that he wore, or in the fair form that he assumed, after the manner of the Valar, his brethren.

Therefore, whenever he saw his chances, he began to sow a seed of falsehood and hints of evil among all who were open to his converse. But he did this with cunning, so that few who heard these lies ever took them from his own lips: they passed from friend to friend, as secrets the knowledge of which proves the teller wise; and in the telling they grew and spread, like weeds running up rank in shady places. Bitterly the people of the Noldor atoned for the folly of their open ears in days to come.

When he saw that many leaned towards him, Melkor would often walk among them, speaking ever words of greatest praise, sweet but poisoned honey; for amid all the fair words others were woven, so subtly that many who heard them believed in recollection that they arose from their own thought. Visions he would conjure up in their hearts of the mighty realms that they could have ruled at their own will in power and freedom in the East; and then whispers went abroad that the Valar had brought the Eldar to Aman because of their jealousy, fearing that the beauty of the Quendi and the makers' power that Ilúvatar had bequeathed to them would grow too great for the Valar to govern, as the Elvenfolk waxed and spread over the wide lands of the world.

In those days, moreover, though the Valar knew indeed of the coming of Men that were to be, the Elves as yet knew naught of it; for Manwë had not revealed it to them, and the time was not yet near. But Melkor spoke to them in secret of Mortal Men, seeing how

the silence of the Valar might be twisted to evil. Little he knew yet concerning Men, for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar; but now the whisper went among the Elves that Manwë held them captive, so that Men might come and supplant them in the dominions of the Middle-earth. For the Valar saw that this weaker and short-lived race would be more easily swayed by them. Alas! little have the Valar ever prevailed to sway the wills of Men; but many of the Noldor believed, or half believed, these evil words.

§51Thus ere the Valar were aware, the peace of Valinor was poisoned. The Noldor began to murmur against them and all their kindred; and many became filled with vanity, forgetting how much of what they had and knew came to them in gift from the Valar. Fiercest burned the new flame of desire for freedom and wider realms in the eager heart of Fëanor; and Melkor laughed in his secrecy, for to that mark his lies had been addressed, hating Fëanor above all, and lusting ever for the Silmarils. But these he was not suffered to approach. For though at great feasts Fëanor would wear them blazing upon his brow, at other times they were guarded close, locked in the deep chambers of his hoard in Túna. There were no thieves in Valinor as yet; but Fëanor began to love the Silmarils with a greedy love, and grudged the sight of them to all, save to his father or to his sons. Seldom he remembered now that the light with which they were lit was not his own.

§52High princes were Fëanor and Fingolfin, the elder sons of Finwë, honoured by all in Aman; but now they grew proud and jealous each of his rights and his possessions. And lo! Melkor then set new lies abroad, and whispers came to Fëanor that Fingolfin and his sons were plotting to usurp the leadership of Finwë and of the elder line of Fëanor, and to supplant them by the leave of the Valar: for the Valar were ill pleased that the Silmarils lay in Túna and were not given to their keeping. But to Fingolfin and Finarfin it was said: ‘Beware! Small love has the proud son of Míriel ever had for the children of Indis. Now he has become great, and he has his father in his hand. It will not be long before he drives you forth from Túna!’

§52aIt is told also that when Melkor saw that these lies were smouldering he began to speak, first to the sons of Fëanor, and at other times to the sons of Indis, concerning weapons and armour, and of the power that they give to him that has them to defend his

own (as he said). Now the Quendi had possessed weapons in Middle-earth, but not of their own devising. They had been made by Aulë and sent as gifts by the hand of Oromë, when it became known to the Valar that the Quendi were beset by prowling evils that had discovered the places of their dwelling beside Cuiviénen; and more were sent later for the defence of the Eldar upon the Great March to the shores of the Sea. But all these were long unused, and lay in hoard as memorials of old days half-forgotten; and since the chaining of Melkor the armouries of the Valar also had been shut.

§52bBut now the lords of the Noldor took out their swords and spears and sharpened them, re-strung their bows and filled their quivers with arrows. And they made shields in those days and emblazoned them with devices of silver and gold and gems. These only they wore abroad, and of other weapons they did not speak, for each believed that he alone had received the warning. But when Fëanor got wind of what was being done, he made for himself a secret forge, of which not even Melkor was aware; and there he wrought fell swords of tempered steel for himself and for his seven sons, and tall helms with plumes of red. Bitterly Mahtan rued the day when he had taught to the husband of Nerdanel, his daughter, all the lore of metal work that he learned of Aulë.

§52cThus with lies and evil whisperings and false counsel Melkor kindled the hearts of the Noldor to strife; and of their quarrels came at length the end of the high days of Valinor and the evening of its ancient glory. For Fëanor now began openly to speak words of rebellion against the Valar, crying aloud that he would depart from Valinor back to the world without, and would deliver the Noldor from thraldom (as he said), if they would follow him.

§52dThen there was great unrest in Túna, and Finwë was troubled, and he summoned all his lords to council. But Fingolfin hastened to his halls and stood before him, saying: ‘King and father, wilt thou not restrain the pride of our brother, Curufinwë, who is called the Spirit of Fire, all too truly? By what right does he speak for all our people, as were he king? Thou it was who long ago spoke before the Quendi, bidding them accept the guesting of the Mighty in Aman. Thou it was that led the Noldor upon the long road through the perilous Earth to the light of Eldanor. If this does not now repent thee, two sons at least thou hast to honour thy words!’

§52eBut even as he spoke, suddenly Fëanor appeared, and he

strode into the chamber tall and threatening. A fire of anger was in his eyes, and he was fully armed: his high helm upon his head, and at his side a mighty sword. ‘So it is, even as I guessed,’ he said: ‘my half-brother would be before me with my father, in this as in all other matters. He would not wait for the council, where all words would be heard by all, and answered. He would speak against me in secret. This I will not brook!’ he cried, turning upon Fingolfin. ‘Get thee gone, and take thy due place!’ Then as a flash of flame he drew his sword. ‘Get thee gone and dare my wrath no longer!’

§52fThen Fingolfin bowed before Finwë, and without word or glance at Fëanor he went from the chamber. But Fëanor followed him, and at the door of the king’s house he stayed him. The point of his bright sword he set against Fingolfin’s breast. ‘See, half-brother!’ he said. ‘This is sharper than thy tongue. Try but once more to usurp my place and the love of my father, and maybe it will rid the Noldor of a would-be master of thralls.’

§52gThese words were heard by many, for the house of Finwë was in the great square beneath the Mindon, and many people were gathered there. But Fingolfin again made no answer, and passing through the throng in silence he went to seek Finarfin his brother.

§52hThe unrest of the Noldor was not indeed hidden from the Valar; but its seed had been sown in the dark; and therefore, since Fëanor first spoke openly against the Valar, they deemed that he was the mover of discontent, being eminent in self-will and arrogance, though all the Noldor had become proud. It was, maybe, the nature of the Children that as they grew they should become wilful, and should desire to escape from tutelage, remembering it with little gratitude. Therefore Manwë was grieved, but he watched and said no word. The Valar had brought the Eldar to their land freely, to dwell or to depart; and though they might judge departure to be folly, it would not be lawful to restrain them from it, if wise counsel did not suffice.

§53But now the deeds of Fëanor could not be passed over, and the Valar were wroth; and dismayed also, perceiving that more was at work than the wilfulness of youth. Therefore Manwë summoned Fëanor to appear before the Valar to answer for all his words and deeds, and he was brought to the gates of Valmar. Thither also were summoned all others who had any part in the matter, or any knowledge thereof, or any grievance of their own to declare.

§53aThen Mandos set Fëanor before him in the Ring of Doom

and bade him answer to all that was asked of him. Great must be the power and will of any who would lie to Mandos, or even refuse his questioning. But Fëanor had no thought of it. He was so besotted with the lies of Melkor that had taken root in his proud heart (though he did not yet clearly perceive their source) that he judged himself justified in all points, and other judgement he scorned.

§53bBut when all was said, and all the testimonies were spoken, and words and deeds were brought out of the dark into the light, then at last the root was laid bare: the malice of Melkor was revealed, and his lies and half-lies made plain for all to recognize who had the will to see. Straightway Tulkas was sent from the council to lay hands on Melkor and bring him again to judgement. But Fëanor was not held wholly guiltless in himself. For he had forged secret swords, and had drawn one in anger unjustified, threatening the life of his kinsman.

§53cTherefore Mandos said to him: 'Thou speakest of thraldom. If thraldom it be, thou canst not escape it. For Manwë is King of Arda, and not of Aman only. And this deed was unlawful, whether in Aman or not in Aman. Though more insolent in Aman, for it is a hallowed land. Therefore this doom is now made: for twelve years thou shalt leave Túna where this threat was uttered. In that time take counsel with thyself, and remember who and what thou art. But after that time this matter shall be set in peace and held redressed, if others will release thee.'

§53dThen Fingolfin rose and said: 'I will release my brother.' But Fëanor spoke no word in answer; and when he had stood silent before the Valar for a while, he turned and left the council and departed from Valmar. At once he returned to Túna, and before the term of seven days that was set, he gathered his goods and his treasures and left the city and went far away. With him went his sons, and Finwë his father, who would not be parted from him, in fault or guiltless, and some others also of the Noldor. But Nerdanel would not go with him, and she asked leave to abide with Indis, whom she had ever esteemed, though this had been little to the liking of Fëanor. Northward in Valinor, in the hills near to the halls of Mandos, Fëanor and his sons made a strong place and a treasury at Formenos, and they laid in hoard a multitude of gems, and weapons also: they did not put aside the swords that Fëanor had made. But Fingolfin now ruled the Noldor in Túna; and thus the

very words of Melkor seemed to be fulfilled (though it was Fëanor who had by his own deeds brought this thing to pass); and the bitterness that Melkor had sown endured, even though his lies had been made manifest. Long afterward it lived still between Fëanor and the sons of Indis.

§54Worse now befell. In vain Tulkas sought for Melkor. For Melkor, knowing that his devices were revealed, hid himself and passed from place to place as a cloud in the hills. And though none could discover whither he had gone, it seemed that the light of Valinor was dimmed, and the shadows of all standing things grew longer and darker in that time. It is said that for two years no one in Valinor saw Melkor again, nor heard any rumour of him, until suddenly he sought out Fëanor. Secretly he came to Formenos, in guise as a traveller that seeks for lodging; and he spoke with Fëanor before his door. Friendship he feigned with cunning argument, urging him to his former thought of flight from the trammels of the Valar.

'Behold the truth of all that I have spoken, and how thou art banished unjustly,' he said. 'But if the heart of Fëanor is still undaunted, as it was in Túna, then I will aid him and bring him far from this narrow land. For am I not Vala also? Yea, and more than those who sit here in pride. I have ever been a friend of the Noldor, knowing their worth: the most skilled and the most valiant of all the folk of Arda.'

Now Fëanor's heart was still bitter at his humiliation before Mandos, and for a moment he paused and looked at Melkor in silence, wondering if indeed he might trust him so far at least as to aid his escape. But Melkor's cunning overreached his aim, and seeing Fëanor hesitate, and knowing that the Silmarils held his heart in thrall, he said at the last: 'Here is a strong place well guarded, but think not that the Silmarils will lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the Valar!'

Then the fires of the heart of Fëanor were kindled, and his eyes blazed; and his sight burned through all the fair-semblance of Melkor to the dark depths of his mind, perceiving there his fierce lust for the Silmarils. Then hate overcame Fëanor's fear, and he spoke shamefully to Melkor, saying: 'Get thee from my gate, gangrel! Thou jail-crow of Mandos!' And he shut the door of his house in the face of the mightiest of all the dwellers in Eä.

Then Melkor departed in shame, for he was himself in peril, and

he saw not his time yet for revenge; but his heart was black with anger. And Finwë was filled with great dread, and in haste he sent messengers to Manwë in Valmar.

Commentary

In the first part of this 'sub-chapter' *Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor* the story as it was told in LQ (pp. 184 ff.) was scarcely changed even in detail, despite the many changes of wording introduced in this last version — except in the matter of the weapons of the Eldar (§§52a, b). In QS, where the matter first entered (V.228, note by Pengoloð to §49), it was said that 'the Elves had before possessed only weapons of the chase, spears and bows and arrows', but that now, under the influence of Melkor, the Noldor 'learned the fashioning of swords of tempered steel, and the making of mail' and shields. This was rewritten in LQ §50 (p. 188), still as an observation made by Pengoloð, to read that the Elves had originally possessed *no* weapons, and that now they learned the making of all kinds of arms, swords, spears, bows and arrows. Similarly in AAm §97 (p. 96): 'Melkor spoke to the Eldar concerning weapons, which they had not before possessed or known'; but my father afterwards noted on the typescript of AAm (p. 106, §97): 'No! They must have had weapons on the Great Journey.' Feeling a need to explain how the Quendi survived 'amid the deceits of the starlit dusk', and concluding that they must have been armed in Middle-earth, he adopted the (to my mind) somewhat mechanical narrative device introduced here (§52a).

Explanations in such a world may prompt unneeded reflections. The passage of Oromë on his horse Nahar from Aman to Middle-earth is never described, nor (I would say) need it be, nor should it be; the movements of the great Valar (and indeed of the lesser divine, as Melian) are a mystery that we do not seek to penetrate. They are from beyond Arda and do not derive from it. In the (very old) story of the transportation of the three original Elvish 'ambassadors' from Kuiviénen to Valinor we might wonder with more right, perhaps, how they journeyed, for the Elves, whatever their powers, are Children of Earth, and must live and move in the physical world of Arda. My father never said any more about that; and we may suppose, if we will, that they passed over the Grinding Ice, borne upon Nahar.* But that he perceived a need to respond, at

a certain level, to speculation of this kind is apparent from this story of Oromë's bringing to the Eldar a great store of weapons made in Valinor — for the store must have been great to be useful in the protection of such a host.

In the latter part of the new version the story is greatly developed, and yet not in such a way as to contradict the earlier versions — which can be read as a synopsis of the latest. It may indeed be that the story of Fëanor's fierce encounter with Fingolfin in the house of Finwë was present to my father's mind already when he wrote LQ (end of §52), though he did not actually recount it till much later.

It is worth remarking that in writing the new version he also had an eye to AAm; thus in §54 he took up the words of Melkor to Fëanor at Formenos in AAm §101 (p. 97) — though removing the sentence 'And think not that the Silmarils lie safe in any treasury within the realm of the gods' from its place in AAm and using it as it was used in LQ, the sudden clue for Fëanor of Melkor's true intention.

There remain a few isolated points. In both texts of the last version occurs the phrase in §49b: 'The Silmarils the Eldar prized beyond all other treasures *in Aman or upon Earth*'. This usage goes back a long way (see the Index to Vol.IV, entries *Earth* and *World*), unsuitable as it may seem to the world in which Aman was physically approachable across the Sea. But the Earth is Middle-earth: it is not the equivalent of Arda; cf. also §52d: 'Thou it was that led the Noldor upon the long road through the perilous Earth to the light of Eldanor.'

It is also curious that *Túna* is now used at every occurrence, not *Tirion*; see p. 90, §67, and p. 193, §52.

In §50 it is said of Melkor that 'Little he knew yet concerning Men, for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar'. Compare the *Ainulindalë* (both the C and D texts) §13: the Children of Ilúvatar 'came with the Third Theme', and §24: Manwë 'was the chief instrument of the second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor.' See further p. 358 note 10.

The names *Fingolfin* and *Finarfin* are thus spelt in B, but in A *Fingolphin* and *Finarphin* (see p. 265 note 10). In the Second Edition of *The Lord of the Rings* (1966) *Finarphin* was spelt thus, later changed on my suggestion to *Finarfin* (Appendix F, *Of the Elves)*.

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OF THE DARKENING OF VALINOR

The first of the two late typescripts (A) comes to an end after a few lines of this next 'sub-chapter', in which LQ §55 was followed virtually word for word; and it ends at exactly the same point as does the LQ rewriting of QS (see p. 190 and note 8). For the next part of the narrative, therefore, we have on the one hand the text of QS (§§55–9), with the very few revisions that had been made to it in the revision of 1951, and on the other the much later and very greatly expanded version that follows here, extant throughout almost all its length only in the one typescript B. There is also a single typescript page, intermediate between A and B, which extends a short way further than does A; and much extremely rough working for the chapter in its late form which is for the most part scarcely legible.

Much of this final version of the story of Melkor and Ungoliantë and the destruction of the Trees stands in such close relationship to AAm that it would be possible, for some sections of the text, to be content with reference to AAm and notes of the differences; nonetheless I give the text in full, for these reasons. First, because despite the closeness to AAm there is also a major transformation of the legend; and second, because the relation between the two traditions, *The Silmarillion* and the *Annals*, here takes a new turn, and this is important for the understanding of the nature of the published *Silmarillion*, and its justification. It would be less easy to follow these interesting developments if part of the text appeared only in notes referring to another text.

§55Now the Valar were sitting in council before the gates of Valmar, fearing the lengthening of the shadows, when the messengers came from Finwë. At once Oromë and Tulkas sprang up, but even as they set out in pursuit other messengers brought tidings from Eldanor. Melkor had fled through the Kalakiryan, and from the hill of Túna the Elves had seen him pass in wrath as a thunder-cloud. 'Then,' said they, 'he turned northward, and our kinsfolk in Alqualondë report that his Shadow went by their haven towards Araman.'

Thus Melkor departed from Valinor, and for a while the Two

Trees shone again unshadowed and the land was filled with light; yet as a cloud far off that looms ever higher, borne upon a slow cold wind, a doubt now marred the joy of all the dwellers in Aman, dreading they knew not what evil that yet might come.

§55aWhen Manwë heard of the ways that Melkor had taken, it seemed plain to him that Melkor purposed to escape to his old strongholds in the North of Middle-earth, as was indeed his most likely course. Though there was little hope in this, Oromë and Tulkas with many of their folk went with all speed northward, seeking to overtake him if they might; but they found no trace or rumour of him beyond the shores of the Teleri, and in the unpeopled wastes that draw near to the Ice they could hear no tidings even from the birds. Therefore at length they returned, but the watch was redoubled along all the northern fences of Aman.

§55bThis indeed Melkor had expected; but he had other things to do before he would return to Middle-earth, and ere the pursuit set out, indeed ere the messengers came to Valmar, he had turned back and in great secrecy passed away far to the South. For Melkor was yet as one of the Valar, and he could still (though with pain) change his form, or walk unclad, as could his brethren; though that power he was soon to lose for ever.

§55cThus unseen he came at last to the region that once was called Avathar,* beneath the eastern feet of the Pelóri; a narrow land it had become, eaten away by the Sea, and was long forsaken. There the shadows were deepest and thickest in the world. In Avathar, secret and unknown save to Melkor, dwelt Ungoliantë, and she had taken spider's form, and was a weaver of dark webs. It is not known whence she came, though among the Eldar it was said that in ages long before she had descended from the darkness that lies about Arda, when Melkor first looked down in envy upon the light in the kingdom of Manwë. But she had disowned her Master, desiring to be mistress of her own lust, taking all things to herself to feed her emptiness. To the South she had fled, and so had escaped the assaults of the Valar and the hunters of Oromë, for their vigilance had ever been to the North, and the South was long unheeded. Thence she had crept towards the light of the Blessed Realm; for she hungered for light and hated it.

§55dIn a ravine she lived and wove her black webs in a cleft of the mountains. All light she sucked up and spun it forth in dark nets of gloom. But now she was famished, and in great torment; for all

living things had fled far away, and her own webs shut out from her all light that could come to her dwelling, whether through passes in the walls of Aman, or from the heavens above. Yet she had no longer the strength or will to depart.

§56Now Melkor sought for her, and he put on again the form that he had worn as the tyrant of Utumno: a dark Lord, tall and terrible. In that form he remained ever after. And when Ungoliantë saw him coming she was afraid, knowing his hatred for all who tried to escape from him. She shrank into her deepest lair, and tried to shroud herself in new shadow; but such darkness as in her famine she could weave was no defence against the eyes of Melkor, Lord of Utumno and Angband.

§56a'Come forth!' he said. 'Thrice fool: to leave me first, to dwell here languishing within reach of feasts untold, and now to shun me, Giver of Gifts, thy only hope! Come forth and see! I have brought thee an earnest of greater bounty to follow.' But Ungoliantë made no answer, and retreated deeper into the cloven rock. Then Melkor was angered, for he was in haste, having reckoned his times to a nicety. 'Come out!' he cried. 'I have need of thee and will not be denied. Either thou wilt serve me, or I will bury thee here and under black stone thou shalt wither into naught.' Then suddenly he held up in his hands two shining gems. They were green, and in that lightless place they reflected the dreadful light of his eyes, as if some ravening beast had come hunting there. Thus the great Thief set his lure for the lesser.

§56bSlowly Ungoliantë came forth; but as she drew near Melkor withheld the lure. 'Nay, nay,' he said. 'I do not bring thee these Elvish sweets in love or in pity; they are to strengthen thee, when thou hast agreed to do my bidding.' 'What is your bidding, Master?' she said, and her eyes gloated upon the gems.

§56cThere in the black shadows, beyond the sight even of Manwë in his highest halls, Melkor with Ungoliantë plotted his revenge. But when Ungoliantë understood his purpose, she was torn between great lust and great fear. She would not dare the perils of Aman, or the power of the dreadful Lords, without a great reward; for she feared the eyes of Manwë and Varda more even than the wrath of Melkor. Therefore Melkor said to her: 'Do as I bid, and if thou art still hungry when we meet again, then, I vow, I will give to thee whatsoever thy lust may demand. Yea, with both hands!' Lightly he made this vow (as he ever did), thinking little of its

fulfilment, and he laughed in his heart; for if she achieved his design, he would have no need, he thought, to appease her, or any one else in Arda, great or small.

§56d'Come then!' he said. 'Here is the earnest!' And he delivered the gems to her, not only the first two but many others that he had stolen in Valinor. Then swiftly Ungoliantë began to grow again and to find new strength. A cloak of darkness she wove about herself: an unlight, in which things seemed to be no more, and which eyes could not pierce, for it was void. Then slowly she wrought her webs: rope by rope from cleft to cleft, from jutting rock to pinnacle of stone, ever climbing upwards, crawling and clinging, until at last she achieved the very summit of Mount Hyarmentir, the highest mountain in that region of the world, far south of great Taniquetil. There the Valar were not vigilant; for west of the Pelóri was an empty land in twilight, until northward one came to the tall fences of the woods of Oromë; and eastward the mountains looked out, save for forgotten Avathar, only upon the dim waters of the pathless Sea.

§57But now upon the mountain-top dark Ungoliantë lay. For a while she rested, and with eyes faint from labour she saw the glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda and the radiance of Valmar far away. Slowly her eyes wakened and took fire, and her lust increased until it overcame her fear. She began in stealth to creep down into the Blessed Realm.

§57aStill in the dark depths Melkor stood, gnawing his mind, between evil hope and doubt; but when he had stood, revolving his chances, as long as his urgency allowed, he turned away and went down to the shore. There he cursed the Sea, saying: 'Slime of Ulmo! I will conquer thee yet, shrivel thee to a stinking ooze. Yea, ere long Ulmo and Ossë shall wither, and Uinen crawl as a mud-worm at my feet!' With that suddenly he passed from Avathar and went to do his will.

§58[*see* AAm §§109–10] Now it was a time of festival, as Melkor knew well. In Aman all tides and seasons were at the will of the Valar, and there was no winter of death; but even as it was the delight of the Valar to clothe themselves in the forms of the Children of Ilúvatar,* so also they would eat and drink and gather the fruits of Yavanna, and share the bounty of the Earth which under Eru they had made. Therefore Yavanna set times for the flowering and the ripening of all growing things in Valinor:

upspringing, blooming, and seed-time. And after the coming of the First-born Children, the Eldar, at these times they made feasts, at which all the dwellers in Aman would assemble in mirth. The greatest of the feasts was at the first gathering of fruits, and this was held upon Taniquetil; for Manwë decreed that at this time all should join in the praise of Eru Ilúvatar, and the peoples of Valinor, Valar, Maiar, and Eldar, poured forth their joy in music and song.

§58aThis day had now come once more, and Manwë prepared a feast greater than any that had been held since the entry of the Eldar into Aman. For though the escape of Melkor portended toils and sorrows to come, and indeed none could tell what further hurts would be done to Arda, ere he could be subdued again, at this time Manwë desired to unite all his people once more in joy, healing all that was amiss, and strengthening them with the blessing of Eru to hold ever in heart the hope of Arda Unmarred. He bade all come who would, but the Noldor above all; for he hoped that there they would put aside the griefs that lay between their lords, and forget utterly the lies of their Enemy. Therefore he sent a messenger to Formenos, saying: 'Fëanor son of Finwë, come and do not deny my bidding! In my love thou remainest and wilt be honoured in my hall.'

§58b[*see* AAm §111] There came the Vanyar, and there came the Noldor of Túna, and the Maiar were gathered together, and the Valar were arrayed in their beauty and majesty; and they sang before Manwë and Varda in the halls of Taniquetil, or played and danced upon the green slopes of the Mountain that looked west to the Trees. In that day the streets of Valmar were empty, and the stairs of Túna were silent, and all the land lay sleeping in peace. Only the Teleri beyond the mountains still sang upon the shores of the Sea; for they recked little of seasons or times, and gave no thought to the cares of the King of Arda, or to the shadow that had fallen upon Valinor; for it had not touched them, as yet.

§58c[*see* AAm §112] One thing only marred the hope of Manwë. Fëanor came indeed, for he read the message of Manwë as a command; but Finwë would not come and remained in Formenos, and with him were the sons of Fëanor. For said Finwë: 'While the ban lasts upon Fëanor, my son, that he may not go to Túna, I hold myself unkinged, and I will not meet my people.' And Fëanor did not come in raiment of festival, and he wore no ornament, neither silver nor gold nor any gem; and he denied the sight of the Silmarils

to the Valar and the Eldar, and left them in Formenos, locked in a chamber of iron.

Nonetheless he met Fingolfin before the throne of Manwë, and was reconciled in word. For Fingolfin held forth his hand, saying: ‘As I promised, I do now. I release thee, and remember no grievance.’

Then Fëanor took his hand in silence; but Fingolfin said: ‘Half-brother in blood, full brother in heart I will be. Thou shalt lead and I will follow. May no new grief divide us!’

‘I hear thee,’ said Fëanor. ‘So be it!’ But they did not know then the full meaning that their words would bear.

§58d[*see* AAm §113] It is told that even as Fëanor and Fingolfin stood before Manwë, there came the Mingling of the Lights, and both Trees were shining, and the silent city of Valmar was filled with a radiance of silver and gold. And in that very hour Ungoliantë came hastening over the fields of Valinor. Hunger and thirst now drove her. No longer she crept but ran, as the shadow of a black cloud upon the wind fleets over the sunlit earth. Now she came to the Green Mound of the Corolairë, and her Unlight rose up even to the roots of the Trees. Then with her black beak she pierced their rind, wounded them deep; and their juices gushed forth and she drank them up. But when no more flowed she set her mouth to the wounds, and sucked them dry, and the poison of Death that was in her went into their tissues and withered them, root, branch, and leaf, and they died. And still Ungoliantë thirsted; and she went to the great Wells of Varda and drained them dry. And as she drank, she belched forth vast vapours, and in their midst she swelled to a shape more huge and hideous than even her most lustful dream had hoped ever to achieve. At last, knowing that the time was short, she hastened away, north, to the tryst that Melkor had made with her, and did not mean to keep.

§58eOutside he had lurked, until the failing of the Light announced that Ungoliantë had done her work. Then through the Kalakiryan, now only a dim ravine in walls of shadow, he came striding back, Lord of Utumno, a black shape of hate, visiting the places of his humiliation with revenge. All the land fell swiftly through grey twilight into night as Melkor stood within the Ring of Doom and cursed it; and he defiled the judgement seat of Manwë and threw down the thrones of the Valar.

§58fThen he went on to his second mark, which he had kept

secret in his mind; but Ungoliantë was aware of him, and turning swiftly she overtook him on his road. Aghast indeed was Melkor to see her, monstrous, grown to a lust and power that he could not master without aid. He could not contend with her, even if time allowed; and he could not escape. She took him into her Unlight, and they went on together to the one place in the land of the Valar that he would have hidden from her.

§59[*see* AAm §114] So the great Darkness came upon Valinor. Of the deeds of that time much is told in the *Aldudénië** that Elemmírë of the Vanyar made and is known to all the Eldar. Yet no song or tale could contain all the grief and terror that then came upon the Blessed Realm. The Light went out; but the Darkness that followed was more than loss. In that hour the dwellers in Aman knew the Unlight, and it seemed not lack, but a thing with being of its own, that made by malice out of Light had the power to pierce the eye, to enter heart and mind and strangle the very will.

§59a[*see* AAm §115] Varda looked down from the Holy Mountain, and she beheld the Shadow soaring up in sudden towers of gloom. Valmar was blotted out, and all the land foundered in a deep sea of night. Soon Taniquetil stood alone, a last island in a drowned world. All song ceased. There was silence in Valinor, and no sound could be heard, save only from afar there came on the wind through the pass of the mountains the wailing of the Teleri like the cold cry of gulls. For it blew chill from the East in that hour, and the vast shadows of the Sea were rolled against the walls of the shore.

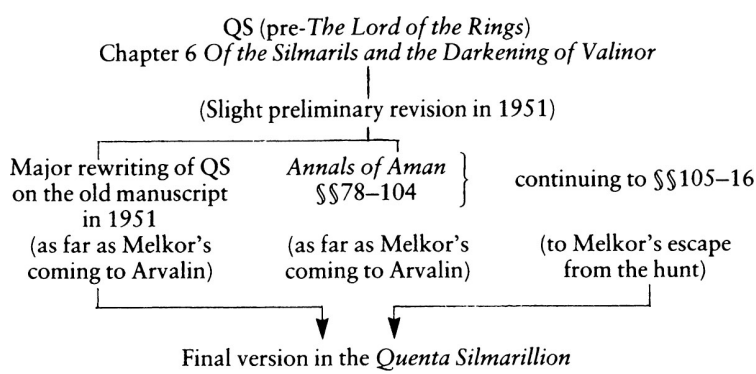
§59b[*see* AAm §116] Then Manwë went up to his high seat upon the mountain-top, and he looked out, and his eyes pierced through the night, until they saw within the dark a Darkness which they could not penetrate, huge but far away, moving now northward with great speed; and he knew that Melkor had come and gone. Then the Valar began their pursuit; and soon the earth shook beneath the horses of the host of Oromë, and the fire that was stricken from the hooves of Nahar was the first light that returned to Valinor. But when the riding of the wrath of the Valar came up with the Cloud of Ungoliantë all were blinded and dismayed, and the host was scattered, and they went this way and that, they knew not whither. In vain Oromë wound his horn, for the Valaróma was choked and gave no sound. Tulkas was as a man caught in a black net at night, and he stood powerless and beat the air in vain. And

when the Cloud had passed, it was too late. Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was achieved.

Commentary

Leaving for a moment the remarkable narrative shift in this 'subchapter' *Of the Darkening of Valinor*, the new version introduces many elements lacking in the old story: among the most important being the origin of Ungoliantë; the account of the festival in Valinor, with the 'investing' of the Valar in the form of the Children of Ilúvatar and their partaking of the physical celebration of the harvest; Manwë's purpose to achieve concord among the Noldor; Finwë's refusal to leave Formenos while Fëanor was banished from Tirion; and the reconciliation of Fëanor with Fingolfin before Manwë's throne. But all these are present in the *Annals of Aman*, and largely in the same words. My father, very obviously, had AAm in front of him; as has been seen (pp. 191–2), LQ and AAm were very close in the earlier part of the now replaced Chapter 6, and while LQ ceases at the point where Melkor goes to Arvalin AAm does not, but continues on (§§105–16) in the same larger fashion, expanding the old story while retaining the structure of the *Quenta* tradition.

Now, however, in this final version of the *Quenta*, my father returned to the *Annals* and used them for the further expansion of the other — increasingly hard to differentiate — 'tradition'. Schematically:


QS (pre-*The Lord of the Rings*)
Chapter 6 *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*
(Slight preliminary revision in 1951)
Major rewriting of QS on the old manuscript in 1951 (as far as Melkor's coming to Arvalin)
Annals of Aman §§78–104 (as far as Melkor's coming to Arvalin)
continuing to §§105–16 (to Melkor's escape from the hunt)
Final version in the *Quenta Silmarillion*

That in the pre-*The Lord of the Rings* period the *Annals of Valinor* and the *Annals of Beleriand* constituted distinct entities, forming

with the *Quenta Silmarillion* a tripartite work, is very clear (see IV.284); and a list of the constituent parts of the Matter of Middle-earth associated with the long letter to Milton Waldman (see p. 3) shows that this was still the case, in theory at least, in 1951.

Yet we have seen how close the versions did in fact become in the course of the 1951 revision; and now, in the last phase of his work on the actual narratives, when (as I have suggested, p. 142) my father was envisaging a 're-expansion' of the whole, a new conception of *The Silmarillion*, a new and much fuller mode of narrative, he derived entire passages from the *Annals* with scarcely any significant change. I have said (p. 192) that AAm and the rewriting (LQ) of the first part of Chapter 6, as I think clearly contemporary, are too similar in every aspect, if continually different in actual wording, to be regarded as the product of a separate tradition of learning and memory, or even as the product of two different 'loremasters'; but the relation of this last version of the *Silmarillion* tradition to AAm on which it draws seems to show that my father had now ceased to regard them as different works. It may be, though I have no other evidence for it, that if he had continued this last version he would have 'cannibalised' the *Annals* wherever he chose to, regarding the latter now as no more than a constituent draft text for the sole work that was to emerge: *The Silmarillion*.

To turn now to the major departure from the old legend — which goes back to the original tale of *The Theft of Melko and the Darkening of Valinor* (I.152–3): *Melkor was not present at the destruction of the Trees.* When Ungoliantë climbs Mount Hyarmentir he stays for a while beside her lair; goes down then to the shores of Avathar and curses the Sea; lurks outside the Pelóri until the great darkness falls; then hastens through the pass to Valmar to desecrate the Ring of Doom. Why was this done? Not, surely, to bring in the casting down by Melkor of the thrones of the Valar — for this could have been achieved without altering the story, or at any rate without altering it so radically. The reason for the change, I think, was that my father found it unacceptable that Melkor should have risked allowing Ungoliantë to come anywhere near the Silmarils. In the new story, Melkor's plan was to wait until she had destroyed the Trees and then go alone in the darkness to Formenos. The tryst 'that Melkor had made with her, and did not mean to keep' (§58d) was not at Formenos — that being 'his second mark, which he had kept

secret in his mind' (§58f); that is why it is said that Ungoliantë 'turned swiftly' and overtook him. Then 'they went on together to the one place in the land of the Valar that he would have hidden from her.'

Other features of this text are discussed under individual paragraphs.

§§55, 55bThere now appears the story that after Melkor was seen from the hill of Túna passing through the Kalakiryan he turned northwards up the coast into Araman; but this was a feint, and he turned back southwards in secret and came into Avathar to find Ungoliantë. (I suggested (I.157), perhaps too positively, that the germ of this northward movement on the part of Melkor is to be found in the old *Tale* (I.145), where Melko originally 'purposed to get to northward over the passes nigh to Mandos', but thought better of it. There is indeed no trace of the idea in any intervening version; but features apparently long lost do undoubtedly emerge again.)

§55a'Melkor purposed to escape to *his old strongholds* in the North of Middle-earth': i.e. Utumno and Angband. See p. 156, §12.

§55cHere first appears the name *Avathar*, and the ancient name *Arvalin* at last disappears. In the short intermediate typescript referred to on p. 282 the name is not *Avathar* but *Vastuman* (typed over *Arvalin). Vastuman* is not translated.

§56d*Hyarmentir* replaces *Hyarantar* of AAm §107.

§57'The glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda': on the Dome of Varda see pp. 385–8.

§58d*Corolairë:* see AAm §122 (pp. 107, 127). — *The Wells of Varda*: see p. 157, §17.

§59The *Aldudénië* of *Elemmírë* is named also in AAm §114 *(Elemírë*; later *Elemmírë*, p. 106).

Entirely new are the statements that Melkor 'could still (though with pain) change his form, or walk unclad', but that at the time of his meeting with Ungoliantë he appeared as the Dark Lord of Utumno, and never again changed from that appearance afterwards (§§55b, 56). He is now explicitly the Master of Ungoliantë (§§56a, b); cf. AAm §106: 'It may well be that … she was in the beginning one of those that he had corrupted to his service.' The narrative is greatly expanded by the account of his persuasion of Ungoliantë and his luring of her by gems stolen in Valinor — giving her

strength also to dare the deed: for the great spider was weak through famine of light (§55d).

★

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF CHAPTER 7

The late typescript B follows straight on from 'Melkor had gone whither he would, and his vengeance was achieved' at the end of the 'sub-chapter' *Of the Darkening of Valinor* (p. 289), with no more than a space, but my father afterwards wrote in a heading [*Of*] *The Rape of the Silmarils*; further on there is a typed heading *Of the Thieves' Quarrel*.

As in the preceding 'sub-chapter', the end of which corresponds to the end of the former Chapter 6 (QS Chapter 4), he again turned to the *Annals of Aman,* and in this case he adopted substantial parts of the older text so closely that the new is almost an exact copy, with only a word or two changed here and there (on the implications of his thus amalgamating the two 'traditions' see pp. 289–91). But he also introduced a new element into the narrative: the attack by Melkor on Formenos reported by Maedros (as his name is here spelt: in a late emendation to LQ Chapter 5 *Maedhros*, p. 177, §41). Only now do the sons of Fëanor play a part in this story: see p. 123, §122.

I do not give the text in the sections where it becomes scarcely distinct from that of AAm. The paragraph numbers here begin a new series, since they cannot be usefully related to those of QS.

OF THE RAPE OF THE SILMARILS

§1When the Trees should have flowered for yet one more day, but time was blind and unmeasured, the Valar returned to the Ring of Doom. They sat upon the ground, for their thrones were defiled, and they were in dark raiment of grief. About them was a great concourse of folk, hardly to be seen; for it was night. But the stars of Varda now glimmered overhead, and the air was clean. The winds of Manwë had driven the vapours of death far away and rolled back the shadows of the Sea. Now Yavanna arose and stood upon the Green Mound, but it was bare and black. She laid her hands upon the Trees, but they were dead and dark; and each

branch that she touched broke and fell lifeless at her feet. Then the voices of all the host were lifted in lamentation; and it seemed to those that mourned that they had drained to the dregs the cup of woe that Melkor had filled for them. But it was not so.

§§2–3 *For Yavanna spoke before the Valar, saying …* These paragraphs, in which the demand is made upon Fëanor that the light of the Silmarils be released for the saving of the Trees, are almost identical to AAm §§118–19 (p. 107), with only a very few changes of no significance, as 'Fëanor answered no word': 'Fëanor made no answer'.

§§4–5 *But Fëanor spoke then, and cried bitterly …* These paragraphs are virtually identical to AAm §§120–1, except at the end of §120 and the beginning of §121. In AAm Fëanor declared that he would be the first to die 'of all the Children of Eru', but on the typescript of AAm, after the emergence of the story of Míriel, my father corrected 'I shall die' to 'I shall be slain', and this change was taken up here. The form of the passage in the new version has been given and discussed on pp. 268–9.

§6'Thou hast spoken,' said Mandos. Then again there was silence, and thought was stilled. But after a while Niënna arose, and she went up onto the Mound; and she cast back her grey hood, and her eyes shone like stars in the rain, for her tears were poured out, and she washed away the defilements of Ungoliantë. And when she had wept she sang slowly, mourning for the bitterness of the world and all hurts of the Marring of Arda.

§7But even as she mourned, there was heard the sound of feet hastening in the night. Then through the throng came the sons of Fëanor, flying from the North, and they bore new tidings of evil. Maedros spoke for them. 'Blood and darkness!' he cried. 'Finwë the king is slain, and the Silmarils are gone!'

Then Fëanor fell upon his face and lay as one dead, until the full tale was told.

§8'My lord,' said Maedros to Manwë, 'it was the day of festival, but the king was heavy with grief at the departure of my father, a foreboding was on him. He would not go from the house. We were irked by the idleness and silence of the day, and we went riding towards the Green Hills. Our faces were northward, but suddenly we were aware that all was growing dim. The Light was failing. In dread we turned and rode back in haste, seeing great shadows rise

up before us. But even as we drew near to Formenos the darkness came upon us; and in the midst was a blackness like a cloud that enveloped the house of Fëanor.

§9‘We heard the sound of great blows struck. Out of the cloud we saw a sudden flame of fire. And then there was one piercing cry. But when we urged on our horses they reared and cast us to the ground, and they fled away wild. We lay upon our faces without strength; for suddenly the cloud came on, and for a while we were blind. But it passed us by and moved away north at great speed. Melkor was there, we do not doubt. But not he alone! Some other power was with him, some huge evil: even as it passed it robbed us of all wit and will.

§10‘Darkness and blood! When we could move again we came to the house. There we found the king slain at the door. His head was crushed as with a great mace of iron. We found no others: all had fled, and he had stood alone, defiant. That is plain; for his sword lay beside him, twisted and untempered as if by lightning-stroke. All the house was broken and ravaged. Naught is left. The treasuries are empty. The chamber of iron is torn apart. The Silmarils are taken!’

§11[*see* AAm §123] Then suddenly Fëanor rose, and lifting up his hand before Manwë he cursed Melkor, naming him Morgoth, the Black Foe of the world.* And he cursed also the summons of Manwë and the hour in which he came to Taniquetil, thinking in the madness of his grief that had he been at Formenos, his strength would have availed more than to be slain also, as Morgoth had purposed. Then with a cry he ran from the Ring of Doom and fled into the night, distraught; for his father was dearer to him than the Light of Valinor or the peerless works of his hands: and who among sons, of Elves or of Men, have held their fathers of greater worth?

§12[*see* AAm §124] After him Maedros and his brethren went in haste, dismayed, for they had not known that he was present when Maedros spoke; and now they feared that he might slay himself. All those who saw Fëanor’s anguish grieved for him and forgave all his bitterness. But his loss was not his alone. Yavanna wept even as Niënna, in dread lest the Darkness should now swallow the last rays of the Light of Valinor for ever. For though the Valar did not yet understand fully what had befallen, they perceived that Melkor had called upon some aid that came from beyond Arda.

The Silmarils had passed away, and all one it may seem whether

Fëanor had said yea or nay to Yavanna. Yet, had he said yea at the first, and so cleansed his heart ere the dreadful tidings came, his after-deeds would have been other than they proved. But now the doom of the Noldor drew near.

OF THE THIEVES' QUARREL

§13Meanwhile, it is told, Morgoth escaping from the pursuit of the Valar came to the wastes of Araman. This land lay northward between the Mountains of the Pelóri and the Great Sea, as Avathar lay to the south. But Araman was a wider land, and between the shores and the mountains were long and dreary plains without hindrance to passage, but bleak, and ever colder as the Ice drew nearer.

§14Through this dim land Morgoth and Ungoliant passed in haste, and so through the great mists of Oiomúrë came to the Helkaraxë, where the strait between Araman and Middle-earth was filled with grinding ice; and they crossed over and came back at last to the North of the Outer World. Together they went on, for Morgoth could not elude Ungoliant, and her cloud was still about him, and all her eyes were upon him. But when they had come to that region that was after called Lammoth, north of the Firth of Drengist, Morgoth grew more hopeful, for they were drawing near to the ruins of Angband where his great western stronghold had been. But Ungoliant perceived his mood and guessed that he would soon try to escape and defraud her, if he could. Therefore she stayed him, and demanded that he should now fulfill his promise.

§15'Black-heart!' she said (calling him 'Master' no longer). 'I have done your bidding. But I hunger still.'

'What wouldst thou have more?' said Morgoth. 'All the world for thy belly? I did not vow to give thee that. I am its Lord.'

'Not so much,' said she. 'But there was a great treasury, of which you said naught to me, and would have said naught even now, if I had not watched you. I will have all that. Yea, with both hands you shall give it!'

'Thou hast had the half already,' said Morgoth. For when she was with him (against his will) at the sack of Formenos, he had let her feast awhile upon the gems of Fëanor, so that she should not come to the chamber of iron.

'I hunger,' she said. 'I will have the other half!'

Then perforce Morgoth surrendered to her the gems that he bore with him, one by one and grudgingly; and she devoured them, and their beauty perished from the world. Then her strength was renewed, but her lust unsated.

'With one hand you give,' she said, 'with the left only. Open your right hand!'

§16In his right hand Morgoth held close the Silmarils that he had taken from the chamber of iron; and though they were locked in a crystal casket, they had begun to burn him, and his hand was clenched in pain. But he would not open it. 'Nay!' he said. 'These things thou shalt not have, nor see. I name them unto myself for ever. Thou hast had already more than thy due. For with my power that I put into thee thy work was accomplished. I need thee no more. Go, filth! Gnaw thy lust in some hole far away, or I will put a fire in thy maw that shall burn thee for ever!'

§17But Ungoliant was not daunted. She had grown great, and he less by the power that had gone out of him. Now she rose against him, and her cloud closed about him, and she cast upon him a hideous web of clinging thongs to strangle him. Then Morgoth sent forth a terrible cry that echoed in the mountains. Therefore that region was called Lammoth;* for the echoes of his voice dwelt there ever after, so that any who cried aloud in that land awoke them, and all the waste between the hills and the sea was filled with a clamour as of voices in anguish.

§18But the cry of Morgoth in that hour was the greatest and most dreadful that was ever heard in the northern world: the mountains shook, and the earth trembled, and rocks were riven asunder. Deep in forgotten places that cry was heard. Far beneath the halls of Angband, in vaults to which the Valar in the haste of their assault had not descended, the Balrogs lurked still, awaiting ever the return of their lord. Swiftly they arose, and they passed with winged speed over Hithlum, and they came to Lammoth as a tempest of fire.

§19Then Ungoliant quailed, and she turned to flight, belching black vapours to cover her; but the Balrogs pursued her with whips of flame into the Mountains of Shadow,* until Morgoth recalled them. Then her webs were shorn asunder, and Morgoth was released, and he returned to Angband.

§20But Ungoliant went into Beleriand, and there dwelt for a time beneath the Eryd Orgoroth [> Gorgoroth], in the dark valley

that was after called Nan Dungortheb † because of the horror that she bred there. But when she had healed her hurts as best she could, and had spawned there a foul brood, she passed away. For there were other evil creatures of spider-form that had dwelt there since the days of the delving of Angband; and she mated with them and devoured them. But whither she went after no tale tells. It is said that she ended long ago, when in her uttermost famine she devoured herself at last.

§21Thus ended the Thieves' Quarrel; and the fear of Yavanna that the Silmarils would be swallowed up and fall into nothingness did not come to pass. But they remained in the power of Morgoth.

The new version ends here in the typescript; but among the pages of very rough draft material there is the following abandoned passage that continues the narrative for a short distance:

Now Morgoth, having achieved his malice against Valinor, and escaped from bondage, gathered again all his servants that he could find; and through all the North ran the news that he had returned. From near and far, from the ruins of Utumno, and from deep dales and shadows under the mountains and from all dark and hidden places they crept back to him.

Then swiftly they began to delve anew the vast vaults of Angband and to uplift its pillared halls of stone amid smoke and fire, and above them were reared the reeking towers of Thangorodrim.

Here the writing was abandoned. After 'Thangorodrim' my father added later: '(The Mountains of Oppression)'. In terms of the pre-Lord *of the Rings* narrative, the new version extends only to halfway through the third paragraph (§62) of the chapter *Of the Flight of the Noldor* in QS (V.233).

Commentary

§10With 'His head was crushed as with a great mace of iron' compare *Laws and Customs* p. 248, where it is said that the body of Finwë 'was burned as by a lightning stroke and was destroyed.' But the accounts may not be altogether contradictory, for in the present text Maedros speaks of seeing a sudden flame out of the Cloud of Ungoliantë, followed by 'one piercing cry', and of finding Finwë's sword 'twisted and

untempered as if by lightning-stroke'.

§14From this point the name has the form *Ungoliant* (as in *The Lord of the Rings),* not *Ungoliantë* as hitherto. — Here appears the name *Lammoth* (cf. 'the Echoing Mountains of Lammoth' in the later *Tale of Tuor, Unfinished Tales* p. 23); see under §17 below.

'the ruins of Angband': cf. the change made to LQ 2, p. 197: 'To his aid there came the Balrogs that lived yet in the deepest places of his ancient fortress, [Utumno >] Angband in the North.'

§15Ungoliant no longer calls Morgoth 'Master', but she continues to address him as a superior, using 'you', whereas Morgoth calls her 'thou' as previously.

There is here a difference in the narrative. In the earlier sources it had been the compact between them that half of the fee of Ungoliant was the sap of the Trees, and the other half 'a full share in all the jewels they should take' (AAm §125). The story is now that the sap of the Trees was her reward for destroying them; for it had not been any part of Morgoth's intention that she should go to Formenos, and so there could now be no question of 'the other half of her fee' in jewels to be plundered there. The 'half' that Morgoth speaks of now refers to the jewels that Ungoliant devoured at Formenos because he was unable to prevent her; and she attempts to force him to yield up 'the other half', the jewels that Morgoth had acquired there for himself.

'with both hands' refers to Morgoth's words to Ungoliant in Avathar (p. 285, §56c): 'Do as I bid, and if thou art still hungry when we meet again, then, I vow, I will give to thee whatsoever thy lust may demand. Yea, with both hands!'

§17The great cry of Morgoth when Ungoliant enmeshed him goes back to Q (IV.93), but only now appears the story of its echo that could always be wakened. On the echoes of Lammoth see *Unfinished Tales* pp. 23, 52.

§19Here (in the footnote) first appears *Eryd Wethrin* (for earlier *Eredwethion).*

§20*Ered Orgoroth* was changed to *Ered Gorgorath* on the AAm typescript, and *Nan Dungorthin* to *Nan Dungortheb* (p. 127, §126). 'Valley of Dreadful Death' is the first translation given of the latter name since *Nan Dumgorthin* was rendered 'land of

the dark idols' in the old *Tale of Tinúviel* (see II.62–3).

The story that Ungoliant went to Nan Dungorthin and spawned a brood there appears also in AAm (§126, pp. 109, 123); but it is said there that she 'returned into the South of the world, where she abides yet for all that the Eldar have heard.'

★

I have treated all this new writing in the typescript B as a series of 'subchapters', in view of the general heading at the beginning (p. 256), *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor*; but on a covering page to the typescript my father wrote very hastily:

> This [is] a specimen of the new revised and enlarged (final?) form and so is not entirely consistent with the remainder. It contains:
>
> Of Finwë and Míriel V
> Of Eldanor and the Unchaining of Melkor VI
> Of the Silmarils and the Unrest of the Noldor VII
> The Darkening of Valinor VIII
> The Thieves' Quarrel IX

These chapter numbers were later pencilled in against the subheadings in the typescript; but the general title *Of the Silmarils and the Darkening of Valinor* was not removed. *The Rape of the Silmarils* (p. 292) was not included in this list and did not receive a number in the text; maybe it was added after the list was made.

The original Chapter 1 *Of the Valar* had been separated off as the *Valaquenta*, and the original Chapter 2 *Of Valinor and the Two Trees* had become Chapter 1 (see p. 200). Since *Of Finwë and Míriel* is here numbered 5, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 were evidently to be *Of the Coming of the Elves*, *Of Thingol and Melian*, and *Of Eldanor and the Princes of the Eldalië*.

Lastly, it must be mentioned that my father wrote the chapter number 'X' against the title *The Flight of the Noldor* on the LQ 2 typescript (following from 'IX *The Thieves' Quarrel*' in the list given above), and 'XI' against the title of the next extant chapter in the LQ 2 series, *Of Men*. Against the words in the latter (QS §82, V.245) 'At the first rising of the Sun above the earth the younger children of the world awoke' he wrote on LQ 2: 'This depends upon an old version in which the Sun was first made after the death of the Trees (described in a chapter omitted).' The significance of this will

appear in Part Five.

Note on Dating

It is convenient to collect here the evidence, such as it is, bearing on the date of this late rewriting, and the texts associated with it.

I have mentioned that in a letter of December 1957 my father told Rayner Unwin that it was his intention to 'get copies made of all copyable material', with a view to 'remoulding' *The Silmarillion*; and I have suggested that the amanuensis typescript LQ 2 of *The Silmarillion* and that of the *Annals of Aman*, which were made on the same typewriter and probably belong to the same time, may therefore be tentatively ascribed to about 1958 (see pp. 141–2).

If this dating is accepted for the moment, then the annals inserted into the manuscript of AAm concerning the death of Míriel, the 'Doom of Manwë concerning the espousals of the Eldar', and the marriage of Finwë to Indis must have preceded 1958 or belong to that year, since they appear in the typescript of AAm as typed (p. 101 notes 1 and 4, p. 127, §120); while the rider FM 1 to LQ concerning Finwë and Míriel is certainly contemporary with the AAm insertions (p. 205). The story of Finwë and Míriel in the manuscript (A) of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* certainly followed FM 1, but the two texts were probably close in time (p. 233). It is thus notable that in the letter written by my father in October 1958 (see pp. 267, 270) this story and its implications were in the forefront of his mind.

The second text of the story of Finwë and Míriel (FM 2, p. 254) intended for inclusion in *The Silmarillion* very probably preceded the typescript (B) of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, since this latter was typed on a new typewriter with a rather distinctive typeface. Also typed on this machine were the *Valaquenta* and the texts of the late rewriting of Chapter 6(-7). The first letter of my father's that I know of to be typed on the new typewriter is dated January 1959.

There is no actual proof of date in any of this, of course, but taken together it points clearly, I think, to the late 1950s as the time when the story of Finwë and Míriel arose and *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* was written. Further evidence is provided by the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* (see pp. 304, 360).

PART FOUR

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH

While this very remarkable and hitherto unknown work, 'The Debate of Finrod and Andreth', is set at a later time in the history of the Elder Days than is otherwise reached in this book, it should clearly be given here on account of its association, both in date and content, with the writings and revisions of the 'Second Phase' of the post-*Lord of the Rings* history of *The Silmarillion*. I have thought it best to let it stand as a separate Part in this book rather than include it with the miscellaneous writings in Part Five, since unlike those it is a major and finished work, and is referred to elsewhere as if it had for my father some 'authority'.

The textual situation, so far as the actual narrative of the 'Debate' is concerned, is simple. There is one manuscript ('A'), very similar in style and appearance to that of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, and like it clear and fluent — although in this case there are some pages of drafting extant, with clear indications that others existed (see pp. 350 ff.). There are also two amanuensis typescripts, taken independently from the manuscript after all emendation had been made to it. One of these ('B'), probably the first to be made, is of slight value: it has many errors, and was looked through very cursorily by my father with scarcely any emendation. The other ('C'), extant also in a carbon copy, is a better text though not without errors; this he read more carefully and introduced a number of minor changes, but missed some errors through not checking it against the manuscript. The text printed here is therefore established from the manuscript, taking up emendations made to the typescripts.

Neither of the typescripts of the *Athrabeth* has any title; both begin with the words 'Now it chanced that on a time of spring …' (p. 307). The manuscript, on the other hand, bears the title *Of Death and the Children of Eru, and the Marring of Men* (with another title or sub-title added later, *The Converse of Finrod and Andreth*), and two pages of introductory text precede the sentence with which the

typescripts open. This introduction to the 'Converse' was in fact the continuation of an essay which my father removed and let stand separately: see pp. 424 ff., where this work, entitled *Aman*, is given.

This introductory section was subsequently typed by my father, with a carbon copy, on the new typewriter (see p. 300), and attached to the beginning of the copies of the amanuensis typescript C. It has no title or heading. In typing it he substantially recast it; but the actual matter of the manuscript version was largely retained, so that only a few differences need be noted (see pp. 305–6).

As to the date of the work: that it was written after the completion of the manuscript of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar* is seen from my father's comments on the latter, 'But see full treatment of this later in *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*' and 'But see *Athrabeth*' (pp. 251–2). It is evident also that it followed the typescript B of *Laws and Customs*, since the word *hröa(r)* is used, a term which only replaced *hrondo(r)* in that typescript by hasty later correction (p. 209). The text and the very elaborate Commentary (typed on the new typewriter) appended to it are preserved in folded newspapers of January 1960; and it is clear from what is written on the newspapers (see p. 329) that the material was complete when they were used for this purpose. It is true of course that January 1960 is not thereby proved to be a *terminus ad quem*, because it could have been indefinitely later that the newspaper was so used; but that, I think, is very unlikely, and I would therefore place the work in 1959. The only evidence that can be set against this is the fact that the small quantity of original draft material is all written on slips made from documents of the year 1955; but if my father had a store of such paper, as is likely enough, this would show no more than that initial work on the *Athrabeth* belongs to that year or later. At the same time it must be allowed to be perfectly possible that he was working on it at intervals over a substantial period of time.

There follows now the introductory text in the typescript version.

Now the Eldar learned that, according to the lore of the Edain, Men believed that their *hröar* were not by right nature short-lived, but had been made so by the malice of Melkor. It was not clear to the Eldar whether Men meant: by the general marring of Arda (which they themselves held to be the cause of the waning of their own

hröar); or by some special malice against Men as Men that was achieved in the dark ages before the Edain and the Eldar met in Beleriand; or by both. But to the Eldar it seemed that, if the mortality of Men had come by special malice, the nature of Men had been grievously changed from the first design of Eru; and this was a matter of wonder and dread to them, for, if it were indeed so, then the power of Melkor must be (or have been in the beginning) far greater than even the Eldar had understood; whereas the original nature of Men must have been strange indeed and unlike that of any others of the dwellers in Arda.

Concerning these things it is recorded in the ancient lore of the Eldar that once Finrod Felagund and Andreth the Wise-woman conversed in Beleriand long ago. This tale, which the Eldar call *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*, is here given in one of the forms that have been preserved.

Finrod (son of Finarfin, son of Finwë) was the wisest of the exiled Noldor, being more concerned than all others with matters of thought (rather than with making or with skill of hand); and he was eager moreover to discover all that he could concerning Mankind. He it was that first met Men in Beleriand and befriended them; and for this reason he was often called by the Eldar *Edennil*, 'the Friend of Men'. His chief love was given to the people of Bëor the Old, for it was these that he had first found in the woods of eastern Beleriand.

Andreth was a woman of the House of Bëor, the sister of Bregor father of Barahir (whose son was Beren One-hand the renowned). She was wise in thought, and learned in the lore of Men and their histories; for which reason the Eldar called her *Saelind*, 'Wise-heart'.

Of the Wise some were women, and they were greatly esteemed among Men, especially for their knowledge of the legends of ancient days. Another Wise-woman was Adanel, sister of Hador Lorindol at one time Lord of the People of Marach, whose lore and traditions, and their language also, were different from those of the People of Bëor. But Adanel was married to a kinsman of Andreth, Belemir of the House of Bëor: he was grandsire of Emeldir, mother of Beren. In her youth Andreth had dwelt long in Belemir's house, and so had learned from Adanel much of the lore of the People of Marach, besides the lore of her own folk.

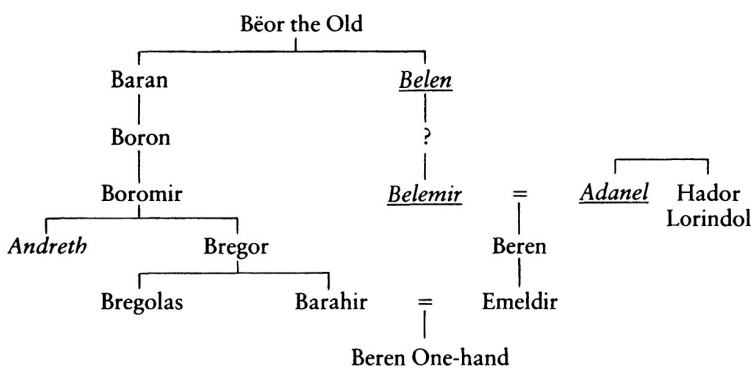
In the days of the peace before Melkor broke the Siege of Angband, Finrod would often visit Andreth, whom he loved in great

friendship, for he found her more ready to impart her knowledge to him than were most of the Wise among Men. A shadow seemed to lie upon them, and there was a darkness behind them, of which they were loth to speak even among themselves. And they were in awe of the Eldar and would not easily reveal to them their thought or their legends. Indeed the Wise among Men (who were few) for the most part kept their wisdom secret and handed it on only to those whom they chose.

The chief difference between the manuscript and typescript versions of this introductory piece concerns the expanded genealogy of the House of Bëor, for here the manuscript gives some additional information concerning Adanel:

Another wise-woman, though of a different House and different tradition, was Adanel sister of Hador. She married Belemir of the House of Bëor, grandson of Belen second son of Bëor the Old, to whom the wisdom of Bëor (for Bëor himself had been one of the wise) was chiefly transmitted. And there had been great love between Belemir and Andreth his younger kinswoman (the daughter of his second cousin Boromir), and she dwelt long in his house, and so learned much of the lore also of the 'people of Marach' and the House of Hador from Adanel.

If to the genealogical references in the published *Silmarillion* (pp. 142, 148, and the Index s.v. *Emeldir*) is added this information from the introduction to the *Athrabeth* the following tree can be derived (the new names are printed in italic):



Most of the genealogical information about the House of Bëor in the

published *Silmarillion* is derived of course from post-*Lord of the Rings* work on the text: in QS and the *Annals of Beleriand* (AB 2) Beren's father Barahir was the son of Bëor the Old, and the People of Marach had not emerged.

Other differences in the manuscript version of the introduction are the statements that Andreth 'learned also all that she could hear of the Eldar', and that Finrod was often called by the Eldar '*Atandil* (or *Edennil*)' (see the 'Glossary' to the *Athrabeth*, p. 349).

In the first footnote to the opening of the narrative proper the date of the *Athrabeth* is given as 'about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455)'. In the year 260 Glaurung first emerged from the gates of Angband, and in 455 befell the Dagor Bragollach or Battle of Sudden Flame, when the Siege of Angband was broken. According to the older chronology (see V.130, 274; still preserved in the *Grey Annals* of c.1951) Finrod Felagund had encountered Bëor in the foothills of the Blue Mountains in the year 400, but the date of that meeting had now been set back by ninety years, to 310 (third footnote to the text).

There follows now 'The Debate of Finrod and Andreth', which as already noted has no title in the typescripts (B and C), and which in the original manuscript (A) runs on continuously without new heading from the introduction.

Now it chanced that on a time of spring* Finrod was for a while a guest in the house of Belemir; and he fell to talking with Andreth the Wise-woman concerning Men and their fates. For at that time Boron, Lord of the folk of Bëor, had but lately died soon after Yule, and Finrod was grieved.

'Sad to me, Andreth,' he said, 'is the swift passing of your people. For now Boron your father's father is gone; and though he was old, you say, as age goes among Men,** yet I had known him too briefly. Little while indeed it seems to me since I first saw† Bëor in the east of this land, yet now he is gone, and his sons, and his son's son also.'

'More than a hundred years it is now,' said Andreth, 'since we came over the Mountains; and Bëor and Baran and Boron each lived beyond his ninetieth year. Our passing was swifter before we found this land.'

'Then are you content here?' said Finrod.

'Content?' said Andreth. 'No heart of Man is content. All passing

and dying is a grief to it; but if the withering is less soon then that is some amendment, a little lifting of the Shadow.'

'What mean you by that?' said Finrod.

'Surely you know well!' said Andreth. 'The darkness that is now confined to the North, but once'; and here she paused and her eyes darkled, as if her mind were gone back into black years best forgot. 'But once lay upon all Middle-earth, while ye dwelt in your bliss.'

'It was not concerning the Shadow that I asked,' said Finrod. 'What mean you, I would say, by the lifting of it? Or how is the swift fate of Men concerned with it? Ye also, we hold (being instructed by the Great who know), are Children of Eru, and your fate and nature is from Him.'

'I see,' said Andreth, 'that in this ye of the High-elves do not differ from your lesser kindred whom we have met in the world, though they have never dwelt in the Light. All ye Elves deem that we die swiftly by our true kind. That we are brittle and brief, and ye are strong and lasting. We may be "Children of Eru", as ye say in your lore; but we are children to you also: to be loved a little maybe, and yet creatures of less worth, upon whom ye may look down from the height of your power and your knowledge, with a smile, or with pity, or with a shaking of heads.'

'Alas, you speak near the truth,' said Finrod. 'At least of many of my people; but not of all, and certainly not of me. But consider this well, Andreth, when we name you "Children of Eru" we do not speak lightly; for that name we do not utter ever in jest or without full intent. When we speak so, we speak out of knowledge, not out of mere Elvish lore; and we proclaim that ye are our kin, in a kinship far closer (both of *hröa* and *fëa*) than that which binds together all other creatures of Arda, and ourselves to them.

'Other creatures also in Middle-earth we love in their measure and kind: the beasts and birds who are our friends, the trees, and even the fair flowers that pass more swiftly than Men. Their passing we regret; but believe it to be a part of their nature, as much as are their shapes or their hues.

'But for you, who are our nearer kin, our regret is far greater. Yet, if we consider the briefness of life in all Middle-earth, must we not believe that your brevity is also part of your nature? Do not your own people believe this too? And yet from your words and their bitterness I guess that you think that we err.'

'I think that you err, and all who think likewise,' said Andreth;

‘and that that error itself comes of the Shadow. But to speak of Men. Some will say this and some that; but most, thinking little, will ever hold that what is in their brief span in the world has ever been so, and shall so ever remain, whether they like it or no. But there are some that think otherwise; men call them “Wise”, but heed them little. For they do not speak with assurance or with one voice, having no sure knowledge such as ye boast of, but perforce depending upon “lore”, from which truth (if it can be found) must be winnowed. And in every winnowing there is chaff with the corn that is chosen, and doubtless some corn with the chaff which is rejected.

‘Yet among my people, from Wise unto Wise out of the darkness, comes the voice saying that Men are not now as they were, nor as their true nature was in their beginning. And clearer still is this said by the Wise of the People of Marach, who have preserved in memory a name for Him that ye call Eru, though in my folk He was almost forgotten. So I learn from Adanel. They say plainly that Men are *not* by nature short-lived, but have become so through the malice of the Lord of the Darkness whom they do not name.’

‘That I can well believe,’ said Finrod: ‘that your bodies suffer in some measure the malice of Melkor. For you live in Arda Marred, as do we, and all the matter of Arda was tainted by him, before ye or we came forth and drew our *hröar* and their sustenance therefrom: all save only maybe Aman before he came there.[1] For know, it is not otherwise with the Quendi[2] themselves: their health and stature is diminished. Already those of us who dwell in Middle-earth, and even we who have returned to it, find that the change[3] of their bodies is swifter than in the beginning. And that, I judge, must forebode that they will prove less strong to last than they were designed to be, though this may not be clearly revealed for many long years.

‘And likewise with the *hröar* of Men, they are weaker than they should be. Thus it comes to pass that here in the West, to which of old his power scarcely extended, they have more health, as you say.’

‘Nay, nay!’ said Andreth. ‘You do not understand my words. For you are ever in one mind, my lord: the Elves are the Elves, and Men are Men, and though they have a common Enemy, by whom both are injured, still the ordained interval remains between the lords and the humble, the firstcomers high and enduring, the followers

lowly and of brief service.

‘That is not the voice that the Wise hear out of the darkness and from beyond it. Nay, lord, the Wise among Men say: “We were not made for death, nor born ever to die. Death was imposed upon us.” And behold! the fear of it is with us always, and we flee from it for ever as the hart from the hunter. But for myself I deem that we cannot escape within this world, nay, not even if we could come to the Light beyond the Sea, or that Aman of which ye tell. In that hope we set out and have journeyed through many lives of Men; but the hope was vain. So said the Wise, but that did not stay the march, for as I have said, they are little heeded. And lo! we have fled from the Shadow to the last shores of Middle-earth, to find only that it is here before us!’

Then Finrod was silent; but after a while he said: These words are strange and terrible. And you speak with the bitterness of one whose pride has been humiliated, and seeks therefore to wound those to whom she speaks. If all the Wise among Men speak so, then well I can believe that ye have suffered some great hurt. But not by my people, Andreth, nor by any of the Quendi. If we are as we are, and ye are as we find you, that is not by any deed of ours, nor of our desire; and your sorrow does not rejoice us nor feed our pride. One only would say otherwise: that Enemy whom you do not name.

‘Beware of the chaff with your corn, Andreth! For it may be deadly: lies of the Enemy that out of envy will breed hate. Not all the voices that come out of the darkness speak truth to those minds that listen for strange news.

‘But who did you this hurt? Who imposed death upon you? Melkor, it is plain that you would say, or whatever name you have for him in secret. For you speak of death and his shadow, as if these were one and the same; and as if to escape from the Shadow was to escape also from Death.

‘But these two are not the same, Andreth. So I deem, or death would not be found at all in this world which he did not design but Another. Nay, *death* is but the name that we give to something that he has tainted, and it sounds therefore evil; but untainted its name would be good.’[4]

‘What do ye know of death? Ye do not fear it, because ye[5] do not know it,’ said Andreth.

‘We have seen it, and we fear it,’ answered Finrod. ‘We too may die, Andreth; and we have died. My father’s father was cruelly slain,

and many have followed him, exiles in the night, in the cruel ice, in the insatiable sea. And in Middle-earth we have died, by fire and by smoke, by venom and the cruel blades of battle. Fëanor is dead, and Fingolphin was trodden under the feet of the Morgoth.6

'For what end? To overthrow the Shadow, or if that may not be, to keep it from spreading once more over all Middle-earth — to defend the Children of Eru, Andreth, all the Children and not the proud Eldar only!'

'I had heard,' said Andreth, 'that it was to regain your treasure that your Enemy had stolen; but maybe the House of Finarphin is not at one with the Sons of Fëanor. Nonetheless for all your valour, I say again: "what know ye of death?" To you it may be in pain, it may be bitter and a loss — but only for a time, a little taken from abundance, unless I have been told untruth. For ye know that in dying you do not leave the world, and that you may return to life.

'Otherwise it is with us: dying we die, and we go out to no return. Death is an uttermost end, a loss irremediable. And it is abominable; for it is also a wrong that is done to us.'

'That difference I perceive,' said Finrod. 'You would say there are two deaths: the one is a harm and a loss but not an end, the other is an end without redress; and the Quendi suffer only the first?'

'Yes, but there is another difference also,' said Andreth. 'One is but a wound in the chances of the world, which the brave, or the strong, or the fortunate, may hope to avoid. The other is death ineluctable; death the hunter who cannot in the end be escaped. Be a Man strong, or swift, or bold; be he wise or a fool; be he evil, or be he in all the deeds of his days just and merciful, let him love the world or loathe it, he must die and must leave it — and become carrion that men are fain to hide or to burn.'

'And being thus pursued, have Men no hope?' said Finrod.

'They have no certainty and no knowledge, only fears, or dreams in the dark,' answered Andreth. 'But hope? Hope, that is another matter, of which even the Wise seldom speak.' Then her voice grew more gentle. 'Yet, Lord Finrod of the House of Finarphin, of the high and puissant Elves, perhaps we may speak of it anon, you and I.'

'Anon we may,' said Finrod, 'but as yet we walk in the shadows of fear. Thus far, then, I perceive that the great difference between Elves and Men is in the speed of the end. In this only. For if you

deem that for the Quendi there is no death ineluctable, you err.

'Now none of us know, though the Valar may know, the future of Arda, or how long it is ordained to endure. But it will not endure for ever. It was made by Eru, but He is not in it. The One only has no limits. Arda, and Eä itself, must therefore be bounded. You see us, the Quendi, still in the first ages of our being, and the end is far off. As maybe among you death may seem to a young man in his strength; save that we have long years of life and thought already behind us. But the end will come. That we all know. And then we must die; we must perish utterly, it seems, for we belong to Arda (in *hröa* and *fëa*).[7] And beyond that what? "The going out to no return," as you say; "the uttermost end, the irremediable loss"?

'Our hunter is slow-footed, but he never loses the trail. Beyond the day when he shall blow the mort,[8] we have no certainty, no knowledge. And no one speaks to us of hope.'

'I did not know this,' said Andreth; 'and yet…'

'And yet at least ours is slow-footed, you would say?' said Finrod. 'True. But it is not clear that a foreseen doom long delayed is in all ways a lighter burden than one that comes soon. But if I have understood your words thus far, you do not believe that this difference was designed so in the beginning. You were not at first doomed to swift death.

'Much could be said concerning this belief (be it a true guess or no). But first I would ask: how do ye say that this has come about? By the malice of Melkor I guessed, and you have not denied it. But I see now that you do not speak of the diminishment that all in Arda Marred suffer; but of some special stroke of enmity against your people, against Men as Men. Is that so?'

'It is indeed,' said Andreth.

'Then this is a matter of dread,' said Finrod. 'We know Melkor, the Morgoth, and know him to be mighty. Yea, I have seen him, and I have heard his voice; and I have stood blind in the night that is at the heart of his shadow, whereof you, Andreth, know nought save by hearsay and the memory of your people. But never even in the night have we believed that he could prevail against the Children of Eru. This one he might cozen, or that one he might corrupt; but to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru's despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed; then all the valour of the Noldor is but presumption and folly — nay, Valinor and the

Mountains of the Pelóri are builded on sand.'

'Behold!' said Andreth. 'Did I not say that ye do not know death? Lo! when you are made to face it in thought only, as we know it in deed and in thought all our lives, at once you fall into a despair. We know, if ye do not,9 that the Nameless is Lord of this World, and your valour, and ours too, is a folly; or at least it is fruitless.'

'Beware!' said Finrod. 'Beware lest you speak the unspeakable, wittingly or in ignorance, confounding Eru with the Enemy who would fain have you do so. The Lord of this World is not he, but the One who made him, and his Vicegerent is Manwë, the Elder King of Arda who is blessed.

'Nay, Andreth, the mind darkened and distraught; to bow and yet to loathe; to flee and yet not to reject; to love the body and yet scorn it, the carrion-disgust: these things may come from the Morgoth, indeed. But to doom the deathless to death, from father unto son, and yet to leave to them the memory of an inheritance taken away, and the desire for what is lost: could the Morgoth do this? No, I say. And for that reason I said that if your tale is true, then all in Arda is vain, from the pinnacle of Oiolossë to the uttermost abyss. For I do not believe your tale. None could have done this save the One.

'Therefore I say to you, Andreth, what did ye do, ye Men, long ago in the dark? How did ye anger Eru? For otherwise all your tales are but dark dreams devised in a Dark Mind. Will you say what you know or have heard?'

'I will not,' said Andreth. 'We do not speak of this to those of other race. But indeed the Wise are uncertain and speak with contrary voices; for whatever happened long ago, we have fled from it; we have tried to forget, and so long have we tried that now we cannot remember any time when we were not as we are — save only legends of days when death came less swiftly and our span was still far longer, but already there was death.'

'Ye cannot remember?' said Finrod. 'Are there no tales of your days before death, though ye will not tell them to strangers?'

'Maybe,' said Andreth. 'If not among my folk, then among the folk of Adanel, perhaps.' She fell silent, and gazed at the fire.

'Do you think that none know save yourselves?' said Finrod at last. 'Do not the Valar know?'

Andreth looked up and her eyes darkened. 'The Valar?' she said. 'How should I know, or any Man? Your Valar do not trouble us

either with care or with instruction. They sent no summons to us.'

'What do you know of them?' said Finrod. 'I have seen them and dwelt among them, and in the presence of Manwë and Varda I have stood in the Light. Speak not of them so, nor of anything that is high above you. Such words came first out of the Lying Mouth.

'Has it never entered into your thought, Andreth, that out there in ages long past ye may have put yourselves out of their care, and beyond the reach of their help? Or even that ye, the Children of Men, were not a matter that they could govern? For ye were too great. Yea, I mean this, and do not only flatter your pride: too great. Sole masters of yourselves within Arda, under the hand of the One. Beware then how you speak! If ye will not speak to others of your wound or how ye came by it, take heed lest (as unskilled leeches) ye misjudge the hurt, or in pride misplace the blame.

'But let us turn now to other matters, since you will not say more of this. I would consider your first state before the wound. For what you say of that is also to me a wonder, and hard to understand. You say: "we were not made for death, nor born ever to die." What do you mean: that ye were as we are, or otherwise?'

'This lore takes no account of you,' said Andreth, 'for we knew nothing of the Eldar. We considered only dying and not-dying. Of life as long as the world but no longer we had not heard; indeed not until now has it entered my mind.'

'To speak truly,' said Finrod, 'I had thought that this belief of yours, that ye too were not made for death, was but a dream of your pride, bred in envy of the Quendi, to equal or surpass them. Not so, you will say. Yet long ere ye came to this land, ye met other folk of the Quendi, and by some were befriended. Were ye not then already mortal? And did ye never speak with them concerning life and death? Though without any words they would soon discover your mortality, and ere long you would perceive that they did not die.'

'"Not so" I say indeed,' answered Andreth. 'We may have been mortal when first we met the Elves far away, or maybe we were not: our lore does not say, or at least none that I have learned. But already we had our lore, and needed none from the Elves: we knew that in our beginning we had been born *never to die*. And by that, my lord, we meant: *born to life everlasting, without any shadow of any end*.'

'Then have the Wise among you considered how strange is the

true nature that they claim for the Atani?' said Finrod.

'Is it so strange?' said Andreth. 'Many of the Wise hold that in their true nature no living things would die.'

'In that the Eldar would say that they err,' said Finrod. 'To us your claim for Men is strange, and indeed hard to accept, for two reasons. You claim, if you fully understand your own words, to have had imperishable bodies, not bounded by the limits of Arda, and yet derived from its matter and sustained by it. And you claim also (though this you may not have perceived) to have had *hröar* and *fëar* that were from the beginning out of harmony. Yet harmony of *hröa* and *fëa* is, we believe, essential to the true nature unmarred of all the Incarnate: the *Mirröanwi*[10] as we call the Children of Eru.'

'The first difficulty I perceive,' said Andreth, 'and to it our Wise have their own answer. The second, as you guess, I do not perceive.'

'Do you not?' said Finrod. 'Then you do not see yourselves clearly. But it may often happen that friends and kinsmen see some things plainly that are hidden from their friend himself.

'Now we Eldar are your kinsmen, and your friends also (if you will believe it), and we have observed you already through three lives of Men with love and concern and much thought. Of this then we are certain without debate, or else all our wisdom is vain: the *fëar* of Men, though close akin indeed to the *fëar* of the Quendi, are yet not the same. For strange as we deem it, we see clearly that the *fëar* of Men are not, as are ours, confined to Arda, nor is Arda their home.

'Can you deny it? Now we Eldar do not deny that ye love Arda and all that is therein (in so far as ye are free from the Shadow) maybe even as greatly as do we. Yet otherwise. Each of our kindreds perceives Arda differently, and appraises its beauties in different mode and degree. How shall I say it? To me the difference seems like that between one who visits a strange country, and abides there a while (but need not), and one who has lived in that land always (and must). To the former all things that he sees are new and strange, and in that degree lovable. To the other all things are familiar, the only things that are, his own, and in that degree precious.'

'If you mean that Men are the guests,' said Andreth.

'You have said the word,' said Finrod: 'that name we have given to you.'

'Lordly as ever,' said Andreth. 'But even if we be but guests in a

land where all is your own, my lords, as you say, tell me what other land or things do we know?'

'Nay, tell me!' said Finrod. 'For if you do not know, how can we? But do you know that the Eldar say of Men that they look at no thing for itself; that if they study it, it is to discover something else; that if they love it, it is only (so it seems) because it reminds them of some other dearer thing? Yet with what is this comparison? Where are these other things?

'We are both, Elves and Men, in Arda and of Arda; and such knowledge as Men have is derived from Arda (or so it would appear). Whence then comes this memory that ye have with you, even before ye begin to learn?

'It is not of other regions in Arda from which ye have journeyed. We also have journeyed from afar. But were you and I to go together to your ancient homes east away I should recognize the things there as part of my home, but I should see in your eyes the same wonder and comparison as I see in the eyes of Men in Beleriand who were born here.'

'You speak strange words, Finrod,' said Andreth, 'which I have not heard before. Yet my heart is stirred as if by some truth that it recognizes even if it does not understand it. But fleeting is that memory, and goes ere it can be grasped; and then we grow blind. And those among us who have known the Eldar, and maybe have loved them, say on our side: "There is no weariness in the eyes of the Elves". And we find that they do not understand the saying that goes among Men: *too often seen is seen no longer*. And they wonder much that in the tongues of Men the same word may mean both "long-known" and "stale".

'We have thought that this was so only because the Elves have lasting life and undiminished vigour. "Grown-up children" we, the guests, sometimes call you, my lord. And yet — and yet, if nothing in Arda for us holds its savour long, and all fair things grow dim, what then? Does it not come from [the] Shadow upon our hearts? Or do you say that it is not so, but this was ever our nature, even before the wound?'

'I say so, indeed,' answered Finrod. 'The Shadow may have darkened your unrest, bringing swifter weariness and soon turning it to disdain, but the unrest was ever there, I believe. And if this is so, then can you not now perceive the disharmony that I spoke of? If indeed your Wisdom had lore like to ours, teaching that the

Mirröanwi are made of a union of body and mind, of *hröa* and *fëa*, or as we say in picture the House and the Indweller.

'For what is the "death" that you mourn but the severing of these two? And what is the "deathlessness" that you have lost but that the two should remain united for ever?

'But what then shall we think of the union in Man: of an Indweller, who is but a guest here in Arda and not here at home, with a House that is built of the matter of Arda and must therefore (one would suppose) here remain?

'At least one would not hope for this House a life longer than Arda of which it is part. Yet you claim that the House too was immortal, do you not? I would rather believe that such a *fëa* of its own nature would at some time of its own will have abandoned the house of its sojourn here, even though the sojourn might have been longer than is now permitted. Then "death" would (as I said) have sounded otherwise to you: as a release, or return, nay! as going home! But this you do not believe, it seems?'

'Nay, I do not believe this,' said Andreth. 'For that would be contempt of the body, and is a thought of the Darkness unnatural in any of the Incarnate whose life uncorrupted is a union of mutual love. But the body is not an inn to keep a traveller warm for a night, ere he goes on his way, and then to receive another. It is a house made for one dweller only, indeed not only house but raiment also; and it is not clear to me that we should in this case speak only of the raiment being fitted to the wearer rather than of the wearer being fitted to the raiment.

'I hold then that it is not to be thought that the severance of these two could be according to the true nature of Men. For were it "natural" for the body to be abandoned and die, but "natural" for the *fëa* to live on, then there would indeed be a disharmony in Man, and his parts would not be united by love. His body would be a hindrance at best, or a chain. An imposition indeed, not a gift. But there is one who imposes, and who devises chains, and if such were our nature in the beginning, then we should derive it from him — but that you say should not be spoken.

'Alas! Out in the darkness men do say this nonetheless, but not the Atani as thou knowest, not now. I hold that in this we are as ye are, truly Incarnates, and that we do not live in our right being and its fullness save in a union of love and peace between the House and the Dweller. Wherefore death, which divides them, is a disaster

to both.'

'Ever more you amaze my thought, Andreth,' said Finrod. 'For if your claim is true, then lo! a *fëa* which is here but a traveller is wedded indissolubly to a *hröa* of Arda; to divide them is a grievous hurt, and yet each must fulfil its right nature without tyranny of the other. Then this must surely follow: the *fëa* when it departs must take with it the *hröa.* And what can this mean unless it be that the *fëa* shall have the power to uplift the *hröa*, as its eternal spouse and companion, into an endurance everlasting beyond Eä, and beyond Time? Thus would Arda, or part thereof, be healed not only of the taint of Melkor, but released even from the limits that were set for it in the "Vision of Eru" of which the Valar speak.

'Therefore I say that if this can be believed, then mighty indeed under Eru were Men made in their beginning; and dreadful beyond all other calamities was the change in their state.

'Is it, then, a vision of what was designed to be when Arda was complete — of living things and even of the very lands and seas of Arda made eternal and indestructible, for ever beautiful and new — with which the *fëar* of Men compare what they see here? Or is there some where else a world of which all things which we see, all things that either Elves or Men know, are only tokens or reminders?'

'If so it resides in the mind of Eru, I deem,' said Andreth. 'To such questions how can we find the answers, here in the mists of Arda Marred? Otherwise it might have been, had we not been changed; but being as we are, even the Wise among us have given too little thought to Arda itself, or to other things that dwell here. We have thought most of ourselves: of how our *hröar* and *fëar* should have dwelt together for ever in joy, and of the darkness impenetrable that now awaits us.'

'Then not only the High Eldar are forgetful of their kin!' said Finrod. 'But this is strange to me, and even as did your heart when I spoke of your unrest, so now mine leaps up as at the hearing of good news.

'This then, I propound, was the errand of Men, not the followers, but the heirs and fulfillers of all: to heal the Marring of Arda, already foreshadowed before their devising; and to do more, as agents of the magnificence of Eru: to enlarge the Music and surpass the Vision of the World![11]

'For that Arda Healed shall not be Arda Unmarred, but a third

thing and a greater, and yet the same.[12] I have conversed with the Valar who were present at the making of the Music ere the being of the World began. And now I wonder: Did they hear the end of the Music? Was there not something in or beyond the final chords of Eru which, being overwhelmed thereby, they did not perceive?[13]

'Or again, since Eru is for ever free, maybe he made no Music and showed no Vision beyond a certain point. Beyond that point we cannot see or know, until by our own roads we come there, Valar or Eldar or Men.

'As may a master in the telling of tales keep hidden the greatest moment until it comes in due course. It may be guessed at indeed, in some measure, by those of us who have listened with full heart and mind; but so the teller would wish. In no wise is the surprise and wonder of his art thus diminished, for thus we share, as it were, in his authorship. But not so, if all were told us in a preface before we entered in!'

'What then would you say is the supreme moment that Eru has reserved?' Andreth asked.

'Ah, wise lady!' said Finrod. 'I am an Elda, and again I was thinking of my own people. But nay, of all the Children of Eru. I was thinking that by the Second Children we might have been delivered from death. For ever as we spoke of death being a division of the united, I thought in my heart of a death that is not so: but the ending together of both. For that is what lies before us, so far as our reason could see: the completion of Arda and its end, and therefore also of us children of Arda; the end when all the long lives of the Elves shall be wholly in the past.[14]

'And then suddenly I beheld as a vision Arda Remade; and there the Eldar completed but not ended could abide in the present for ever,[15] and there walk, maybe, with the Children of Men, their deliverers, and sing to them such songs as, even in the Bliss beyond bliss, should make the green valleys ring and the everlasting mountain-tops to throb like harps.'

Then Andreth looked under her brows at Finrod: 'And what, when ye were not singing, would ye say to us?' she asked.

Finrod laughed. 'I can only guess,' he said. 'Why, wise lady, I think that we should tell you tales of the Past and of Arda that was Before, of the perils and great deeds and the making of the Silmarils! We were the lordly ones then! But ye, ye would then be at home, looking at all things intently, as your own. Ye would be

the lordly ones. “The eyes of Elves are always thinking of something else,” ye would say. But ye would know then of what we were reminded: of the days when we first met, and our hands touched in the dark. Beyond the End of the World we shall not change; for in memory is our great talent, as shall be seen ever more clearly as the ages of this Arda pass: a heavy burden to be, I fear; but in the Days of which we now speak a great wealth.’ And then he paused, for he saw that Andreth was weeping silently.

‘Alas, lord!’ she said. ‘What then is to be done now? For we speak as if these things are, or as if they will assuredly be. But Men have been diminished and their power is taken away. We look for no Arda Remade: darkness lies before us, into which we stare in vain. If by our aid your everlasting mansions were to be prepared, they will not be builded now.’

‘Have ye then no hope?’ said Finrod.

‘What is hope?’ she said. ‘An expectation of good, which though uncertain has some foundation in what is known? Then we have none.’

‘That is one thing that Men call “hope”,’ said Finrod. ‘*Amdir* we call it, “looking up”. But there is another which is founded deeper. *Estel* we call it, that is “trust”. It is not defeated by the ways of the world, for it does not come from experience, but from our nature and first being. If we are indeed the *Eruhin*, the Children of the One, then He will not suffer Himself to be deprived of His own, not by any Enemy, not even by ourselves. This is the last foundation of *Estel,* which we keep even when we contemplate the End: of all His designs the issue must be for His Children’s joy. *Amdir* you have not, you say. Does no *Estel* at all abide?’

‘Maybe,’ she said. ‘But no! Do you not perceive that it is part of our wound that *Estel* should falter and its foundations be shaken? Are we the Children of the One? Are we not cast off finally? Or were we ever so? Is not the Nameless the Lord of the World?’

‘Say it not even in question!’ said Finrod.

‘It cannot be unsaid,’ answered Andreth, ‘if you would understand the despair in which we walk. Or in which most Men walk. Among the Atani, as you call us, or the Seekers as we say: those who left the lands of despair and the Men of darkness and journeyed west in vain hope: it is believed that healing may yet be found, or that there is some way of escape. But is this indeed *Estel?* Is it not *Amdir* rather; but without reason: mere flight in a dream

from what waking they know: that there is no escape from darkness and death?'

'*Mere flight in a dream* you say,' answered Finrod. 'In dream many desires are revealed; and desire may be the last flicker of *Estel*. But you do not mean *dream*, Andreth. You confound *dream* and *waking* with *hope* and *belief*, to make the one more doubtful and the other more sure. Are they asleep when they speak of escape and healing?'

'Asleep or awake, they say nothing clearly,' answered Andreth. 'How or when shall healing come? To what manner of being shall those who see that time be re-made? And what of us who before it go out into darkness unhealed? To such questions only those of the "Old Hope" (as they call themselves) have any guess of an answer.'

'*Those of the Old Hope?*' said Finrod. 'Who are they?'

'A few,' she said; 'but their number has grown since we came to this land, and they see that the Nameless can (as they think) be defied. Yet that is no good reason. To defy him does not undo his work of old. And if the valour of the Eldar fails here, then their despair will be deeper. For it was not on the might of Men, or of any of the peoples of Arda, that the old hope was grounded.'

'What then was this hope, if you know?' Finrod asked.

'They say,' answered Andreth: 'they say that the One will himself enter into Arda, and heal Men and all the Marring from the beginning to the end. This they say also, or they feign, is a rumour that has come down through years uncounted, even from the days of our undoing.'16

'They say, they feign?' said Finrod. 'Are you then not one of them?'

'How can I be, lord? All wisdom is against them. Who is the One, whom ye call Eru? If we put aside the Men who serve the Nameless, as do many in Middle-earth, still many Men perceive the world only as a war between Light and Dark equipotent. But you will say: nay, that is Manwë and Melkor; Eru is above them. Is then Eru only the greatest of the Valar, a great god among gods, as most Men will say, even among the Atani: a king who dwells far from his kingdom and leaves lesser princes to do here much as they will? Again you say: nay, Eru is One, alone without peer, and He made Eä, and is beyond it; and the Valar are greater than we, but yet no nearer to His majesty. Is this not so?'

'Yes,' said Finrod. 'We say this, and the Valar we know, and they

say the same, all save one. But which, think you, is more likely to lie: those who make themselves humble, or he that exalts himself?'

'I do not doubt,' said Andreth. 'And for that reason the saying of Hope passes my understanding. How could Eru enter into the thing that He has made, and than which He is beyond measure greater? Can the singer enter into his tale or the designer into his picture?'

'He is already in it, as well as outside,' said Finrod. 'But indeed the "in-dwelling" and the "out-living" are not in the same mode.'

'Truly,' said Andreth. 'So may Eru in that mode be present in Eä that proceeded from Him. But they speak of Eru Himself *entering into Arda*, and that is a thing wholly different. How could He the greater do this? Would it not shatter Arda, or indeed all Eä?'

'Ask me not,' said Finrod. 'These things are beyond the compass of the wisdom of the Eldar, or of the Valar maybe. But I doubt that our words may mislead us, and that when you say "greater" you think of the dimensions of Arda, in which the greater vessel may not be contained in the less.

'But such words may not be used of the Measureless. If Eru wished to do this, I do not doubt that He would find a way, though I cannot foresee it. For, as it seems to me, even if He in Himself were to enter in, He must still remain also as He is: the Author without. And yet, Andreth, to speak with humility, I cannot conceive how else this healing could be achieved. Since Eru will surely not suffer Melkor to turn the world to his own will and to triumph in the end. Yet there is no power conceivable greater than Melkor save Eru only. Therefore Eru, if He will not relinquish His work to Melkor, who must else proceed to mastery, then Eru must come in to conquer him.

'More: even if Melkor (or the Morgoth that he has become) could in any way be thrown down or thrust from Arda, still his Shadow would remain, and the evil that he has wrought and sown as a seed would wax and multiply. And if any remedy for this is to be found, ere all is ended, any new light to oppose the shadow, or any medicine for the wounds: then it must, I deem, come from without.'

'Then, lord,' said Andreth, and she looked up in wonder, 'you believe in this Hope?'

'Ask me not yet,' he answered. 'For it is still to me but strange news that comes from afar. No such hope was ever spoken to the Quendi. To you only it was sent. And yet through you we may hear

it and lift up our hearts.' He paused a while, and then looking gravely at Andreth he said: 'Yes, Wise-woman, maybe it was ordained that we Quendi, and ye Atani, ere the world grows old, should meet and bring news one to another, and so we should learn of the Hope from you: ordained, indeed, that thou and I, Andreth, should sit here and speak together, across the gulf that divides our kindreds, so that while the Shadow still broods in the North we should not be wholly afraid.'

'*Across the gulf that divides our kindreds!*' said Andreth. 'Is there no bridge but mere words?' And then she wept again.

'There may be. For some. I do not know,' he said. 'The gulf, maybe, is between our fates rather, for else we are close akin, closer than any other creatures in the world. Yet perilous is it to cross a gulf set by doom; and should any do so, they will not find joy upon the other side, but the griefs of both. So I deem.

'But why dost thou say "mere words"? Do not words overpass the gulf between one life and another? Between thee and me surely more has passed than empty sound? Have we not drawn near at all? But that is, I think, little comfort to thee.'

'I have not asked for comfort,' said Andreth. 'For what do I need it?'

'For the doom of Men that has touched thee as a woman,' said Finrod. 'Dost thou think that I do not know? Is he not my brother dearly loved? Aegnor:[17] *Aikanár*, the Sharp-flame, swift and eager. And not long are the years since you first met, and your hands touched in this darkness. Yet then thou wert a maiden, brave and eager, in the morning upon the high hills of Dorthonion.'[18]

'Say on!' said Andreth. 'Say: who art now but a wise-woman, alone, and age that shall not touch him has already set winter's grey in thy hair! But say not *thou* to me, for so he once did!'[19]

'Alas!' said Finrod. 'That is the bitterness, beloved *adaneth*, woman of Men, is it not? that has run through all your words. If I could speak any comfort, you would deem it lordly from one on my side of the sundering doom. But what can I say, save to remind you of the Hope that you yourself have revealed?'

'I did not say that it was ever my hope,' answered Andreth. 'And even were it so, I would still cry: why should this hurt come here and now? Why should we love you, and why should ye love us (if ye do), and yet set the gulf between?'

'Because we were so made, close kin,' said Finrod. 'But we did

not make ourselves, and therefore we, the Eldar, did not set the gulf. Nay, *adaneth*, we are not lordly in this, but pitiful.[20] That word will displease thee. Yet pity is of two kinds: one is of kinship recognized, and is near to love; the other is of difference of fortune perceived, and is near to pride. I speak of the former.'

'Speak of neither to me!' said Andreth. 'I desire neither. I was young and I looked on his flame, and now I am old and lost. He was young and his flame leaped towards me, but he turned away, and he is young still. Do candles pity moths?'

'Or moths candles, when the wind blows them out?' said Finrod. '*Adaneth*, I tell thee, *Aikanár* the Sharp-flame loved thee. For thy sake now he will never take the hand of any bride of his own kindred, but live alone to the end, remembering the morning in the hills of Dorthonion. But too soon in the North-wind his flame will go out! Foresight is given to the Eldar in many things not far off, though seldom of joy, and I say to thee thou shalt live long in the order of your kind, and he will go forth before thee and he will not wish to return.'

Then Andreth stood up and stretched her hands to the fire. 'Then why did he turn away? Why leave me while I had still a few good years to spend?'

'Alas!' said Finrod. 'I fear the truth will not satisfy thee. The Eldar have one kind, and ye another; and each judges the others by themselves — until they learn, as do few. This is time of war, Andreth, and in such days the Elves do not wed or bear child;[21] but prepare for death — or for flight. Aegnor has no trust (nor have I) in this siege of Angband that it will last long; and then what will become of this land? If his heart ruled, he would have wished to take thee and flee far away, east or south, forsaking his kin, and thine. Love and loyalty hold him to his. What of thee to thine? Thou hast said thyself that there is no escape by flight within the bounds of the world.'

'For one year, one day, of the flame I would have given all: kin, youth, and hope itself: *adaneth* I am,' said Andreth.

'That he knew,' said Finrod; 'and he withdrew and did not grasp what lay to his hand: *elda* he is. For such barters are paid for in anguish that cannot be guessed, until it comes, and in ignorance rather than in courage the Eldar judge that they are made.

'Nay, *adaneth*, if any marriage can be between our kindred and thine, then it shall be for some high purpose of Doom. Brief it will

be and hard at the end. Yea, the least cruel fate that could befall would be that death should soon end it.'

'But the end is always cruel — for Men,' said Andreth. 'I would not have troubled him, when my short youth was spent. I would not have hobbled as a hag after his bright feet, when I could no longer run beside him!'

'Maybe not,' said Finrod. 'So you feel now. But do you think of him? He would not have run before thee. He would have stayed at thy side to uphold thee. Then pity thou wouldst have had in every hour, pity inescapable. He would not have thee so shamed.

'Andreth *adaneth*, the life and love of the Eldar dwells much in memory; and we (if not ye) would rather have a memory that is fair but unfinished than one that goes on to a grievous end. Now he will ever remember thee in the sun of morning, and that last evening by the water of Aeluin in which he saw thy face mirrored with a star caught in thy hair — ever, until the North-wind brings the night of his flame. Yea, and after that, sitting in the House of Mandos in the Halls of Awaiting until the end of Arda.'

'And what shall I remember?' said she. 'And when I go to what halls shall I come? To a darkness in which even the memory of the sharp flame shall be quenched? Even the memory of rejection. That at least.'

Finrod sighed and stood up. 'The Eldar have no healing words for such thoughts, *adaneth*,' he said. 'But would you wish that Elves and Men had never met? Is the light of the flame, which otherwise you would never have seen, of no worth even now? You believe yourself scorned? Put away at least that thought, which comes out of the Darkness, and then our speech together will not have been wholly in vain. Farewell!'

Darkness fell in the room. He took her hand in the light of the fire. 'Whither go you?' she said.

'North away,' he said: 'to the swords, and the siege, and the walls of defence — that yet for a while in Beleriand rivers may run clean, leaves spring, and birds build their nests, ere Night comes.'

'Will he be there, bright and tall, and the wind in his hair? Tell him. Tell him not to be reckless. Not to seek danger beyond need!'

'I will tell him,' said Finrod. 'But I might as well tell thee not to weep. He is a warrior, Andreth, and a spirit of wrath. In every stroke that he deals he sees the Enemy who long ago did thee this hurt.

‘But you are not for Arda. Whither you go may you find light. Await us there, my brother — and me.’

NOTES

1Perhaps to be compared with this is a passage in the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs* (p. 247), where Niënna said to Manwë: ‘Though the death of severance may find out the Eldar in thy realm, yet one thing cometh not to it, and shall not: and that is deforming and decay’; to which is added in a footnote: ‘Yet after the slaying of the Trees it did so while Melkor remained there; and the body of Finwë, slain by Melkor, was withered and passed into dust, even as the Trees themselves had withered.’

2Here and at several, but by no means all, subsequent occurrences *Quendi* was emended to *Elves* on the typescript C.

3*change* was an emendation to the typescript B (only); the manuscript has *growth*.

4Cf. the words of Pengoloð to Ælfwine at the end of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 37), of the mortality of Men: ‘Death is their fate, the gift of Ilúvatar, which as Time wears even the Powers shall envy. But Melkor has cast his shadow upon it, and confounded it with darkness, and brought forth evil out of good, and fear out of hope.’

5The manuscript has here: ‘What do ye know of death? Ye do not fear it, because you do not know it.’ The typist of C replaced the first *ye* by *you;* my father let this stand, but corrected the original occurrence of *you* to *ye*. On the opening page of the typescript he noted that *ye* is used for the plural only, and that *you* ‘represents the Elvish pronoun of polite address’, while *thou*, *thee* ‘represent the familiar (or affectionate) pronoun’. This distinction is not always maintained in the manuscript; but in a number of cases you, where *ye* might be expected, may be intended, and I have only corrected the forms where error seems certain.

6This is a strange error. Fingolfin died in 456, the year after the Dagor Bragollach (V.132, repeated in the *Grey Annals*): see p. 306.

7Cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 220: ‘The new *fëa,* and therefore in their beginning all *fëar*, they [the Eldar] believe to come direct from

Eru and from beyond Ëa. Therefore many of them hold that it cannot be asserted that the fate of the Elves is to be confined within Arda for ever and with it to cease.'

8*mort:* the note sounded on a horn at the death of the quarry.

9The distinction between *ye* (plural) and *you* (singular) is presumably intended (see note 5).

10The manuscript has *Mirruyainar*, followed in both typescripts. On B my father emended the name to *Mirroyainar* here but not at the second occurrence (p. 316); on C he changed it to *Mirröanwi* at both occurrences. See the 'Glossary' to the *Athrabeth*, p. 350.

11In the margin of the manuscript, repeated in the typescript C, is written against this paragraph: 'In the Music of Eru Men only entered after the discords of Melkor.' Of course this was true of the Elves also. See Author's Note 1 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* and note 10 (p. 358).

12Cf. the words of Manwë at the end of the Debate of the Valar in *Laws and Customs* (p. 245): 'For Arda Unmarred hath two aspects or senses. The first is the Unmarred that they [the Eldar] discern in the Marred …: this is the ground upon which Hope is built. The second is the Unmarred that shall be: that is, to speak according to Time in which they have their being, the Arda Healed, which shall be greater and more fair than the first, because of the Marring: this is the Hope that sustaineth.'

13It is said in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 13, §19) that 'the history was incomplete and the circles not full-wrought when the vision was taken away', to which in the final text D (p. 31) was added a footnote, attributed to Pengoloð:

> And some have said that the Vision ceased ere the fulfilment of the Dominion of Men and the fading of the Firstborn; wherefore, though the Music is over all, the Valar have not seen as with sight the Later Ages or the ending of the World.

In the 'lost' typescript AAm* of the opening of the *Annals of Aman* (p. 64) it is said that Nienna could not endure to the end of the Music, and that 'therefore she has not the hope of Manwë' (p. 68).

14See p. 312 and note 7.

15On the conception of Arda Complete see note (iii) at the end of *Laws and Customs* (p. 251).

16It was of course fundamental to the whole conception of the Elder Days that Men awoke in the East at the first Sunrise, and that they had existed for no more than a few hundred years when Finrod Felagund came upon Bëor and his people in the foothills of the Blue Mountains. There have been suggestions earlier in the *Athrabeth* that Andreth was looking much further back in time to the awakening of Men (thus she speaks of 'legends of days when death came less swiftly and our span was still far longer', p. 313); in her words here, 'a rumour that has come down through years uncounted', a profound alteration in the conception seems plain. The chronology of the Years of the Sun is however maintained in the *Athrabeth*, with the dating of the meeting of Finrod and Andreth as 'about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455)' (see p. 306). See further p. 378.

17Both here and on p. 324 the name was written *Egnor* in the manuscript, subsequently changed to *Aegnor*; cf. p. 177 (§42) and p. 197.

18Cf. QS §117 (V.264): 'Angrod and Egnor watched Bladorion from the northern slopes of Dorthonion' (during the Siege of Angband), and §129 (V.276): 'Barahir [son of Bëor the Old] dwelt mostly on the north marches with Angrod and Egnor.'

19The sentence 'But say not *thou* to me, for so he once did' was an addition to the manuscript; Finrod has begun to address Andreth as *thou* from shortly before this point. But from here to the end of the text the usage is very confused, inconsistent in the manuscript and with inconsistent emendation to the typescript (both *thou* to *you* and *you* to *thou*); it seems that my father was in two minds as to which forms Finrod should employ, and I have left the text as it stands.

20*pitiful*: i.e. filled with pity, compassionate.

21Cf. *Laws and Customs*, p. 213: 'it would seem to any of the Eldar a grievous thing if a wedded pair were sundered during the bearing of a child, or while the first years of its childhood lasted. For which reason the Eldar would beget children only in days of happiness and peace if they could.'

★

The *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* perhaps marks the culmination of

my father's thought on the relation of Elves and Men, in Finrod's exalted vision of the original design of Eru for Mankind; but his central purpose was to explore fully for the first time the nature of 'the Marring of Men'. In the long account of his work that he wrote for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no. 131, pp. 147–8) he had said:

> The first fall of Man … nowhere appears — Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented.

In the *Athrabeth* Finrod approaches this 'rumour' directly: 'Therefore I say to you, Andreth, *what did ye do, ye Men, long ago in the dark?* How did ye anger Eru? … Will you say what you know or have heard?' He is met by a blank refusal: '"I will not," said Andreth. "We do not speak of this to those of other race"'; but to Finrod's subsequent question 'Are there no tales of your days before death, though ye will not tell them to strangers?' Andreth replies: 'Maybe. If not among my folk, then among the folk of Adanel, perhaps.' The legend of the Fall of Man preserved among certain of the Edain was (as will be seen shortly) about to enter.

Presenting the fundamental differences of destiny, nature, and experience between Elves and Men in the form of a philosophical debate between Finrod Lord of Nargothrond and Andreth descendant of Bëor the Old, the argument is nonetheless conducted with an increasing intensity, and bitterness on the part of Andreth, the bearing of which (though known to both speakers independently) is only revealed at the end. But to this passionate work my father appended a long discursive and critical commentary in a very different vein, which follows here.

The newspapers in which the *Athrabeth* and the commentary were preserved (see p. 304) bear the inscription:

Addit. Silmarillion

Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth

On one of these wrappers my father added: ‘Should be last item in an appendix’ (i.e. to *The Silmarillion*).

This commentary he typed himself, in top copy and carbon, with a few subsequent emendations almost identical in both. Following the commentary are numbered notes that bulk much larger than the commentary itself, since some of them constitute short essays. I distinguish these from my own numbered notes to the text (pp. 357ff.) by the words ‘Author’s Note’.

Very rough drafting for the commentary is extant, and that this followed the making of the amanuensis typescripts of the *Athrabeth* itself is seen from the occurrence in it of the word *Mirröanwi* (see note 10 above).

ATHRABETH FINROD AH ANDRETH
The Debate of Finrod and Andreth

This is not presented as an argument of any cogency for Men in their present situation (or the one in which they believe themselves to be), though it may have some interest for Men who start with similar beliefs or assumptions to those held by the Elvish king Finrod.

It is in fact simply part of the portrayal of the imaginary world of the *Silmarillion*, and an example of the kind of thing that enquiring minds on either side, the Elvish or the Human, must have said to one another after they became acquainted. We see here the attempt of a generous Elvish mind to fathom the relations of Elves and Men, and the part they were designed to play in what he would have called the *Oienkarmë Eruo* (The One’s perpetual production), which might be rendered by ‘God’s management of the Drama’.

There are certain things in this world that have to be accepted as ‘facts’. *The existence of Elves*: that is of a race of beings closely akin to Men, so closely indeed that they must be regarded as physically (or biologically) simply branches of the same race.1 The Elves appeared on Earth earlier, but not (mythologically or geologically) much earlier;2 they were ‘immortal’, and did not ‘die’ except by accident. Men, when they appeared on the scene (that is, when they met the Elves), were, however, much as they now are: they ‘died’, even if they escaped all accidents, at about the age of 70

to 80. *The existence of the Valar*: that is of certain angelic Beings (created, but at least as *powerful as the 'gods'* of *human mythologies), the chief* of whom still resided in an actual physical part of the Earth. They were the agents and vice-gerents of Eru (God). They had been for nameless ages engaged in a demiurgic labour[3] completing to the design of Eru the structure of the Universe (Eä); but were now concentrated on Earth for the principal Drama of Creation: the war of the *Eruhín* (The Children of God), Elves and Men, against Melkor. Melkor, originally the most powerful of the Valar,[4] had become a rebel, against his brethren and against Eru, and was the prime Spirit of Evil.

With regard to King Finrod, it must be understood that he starts with certain basic beliefs, which he would have said were derived from one or more of these sources: his created nature; angelic instruction; thought; and experience.

1. There exists Eru (The One); that is, One God Creator, who made (or more strictly designed) the World, but is not Himself the World. This world, or Universe, he calls *Eä*, an Elvish word that means 'It is', or 'Let It Be'.

2. There are on Earth 'incarnate' creatures, Elves and Men: these are made of a union of *hröa* and *fëa* (roughly but not exactly equivalent to 'body' and 'soul'). This, he would say, was a *known fact* concerning Elvish nature, and could therefore be deduced for human nature from the close kinship of Elves and Men.

3. *Hröa* and *fëa* he would say are wholly distinct in kind, and not on the 'same plane of derivation from Eru', (*Author's Note 1, p. 336*) but were designed each for the other, to abide in perpetual harmony. The *fëa* is indestructible, a unique identity which cannot be disintegrated or absorbed into any other identity. The *hröa,* however, can be destroyed and dissolved: that is a fact of experience. (In such a case he would describe the *fëa* as 'exiled' or 'houseless'.)

4. The separation of *fëa* and *hröa* is 'unnatural', and proceeds not from the original design, but from the 'Marring of Arda', which is due to the operations of Melkor.

5. Elvish 'immortality' is bounded within a part of Time (which he would call the History of Arda), and is therefore strictly to be called rather 'serial longevity', the utmost limit of which is the length of the existence of Arda. (*Author's Note 2, p. 337*) A corollary of this is that the Elvish *fëa* is also limited to the Time of Arda, or at

least held within it and unable to leave it, while it lasts.

6. From this it would follow in thought, if it were not a fact of Elvish experience, that a 'houseless' Elvish *fëa* must have the power or opportunity to return to incarnate life, if it has the desire or will to do so. (Actually the Elves discovered that their *fëar* had not this power in themselves, but that the opportunity and means were provided by the Valar, by the special permission of Eru for the amendment of the unnatural state of divorce. It was not lawful for the Valar to force a *fëa* to return; but they could impose conditions, and judge whether return should be permitted at all, and if so, in what way or after how long.) (*Author's Note 3, p. 339*)

7. Since Men die, without accident, and whether they will to do so or not, their *fëar* must have a different relation to Time. The Elves believed, though they had no certain information, that the *fëar* of Men, if disembodied, left Time (sooner or later), and never returned. (*Author's Note 4, p. 340*)

The Elves observed that all Men died (a fact confirmed by Men). They therefore deduced that this was 'natural' to Men (sc. was by the design of Eru), and supposed that the brevity of human life was due to this character of the human *fëa:* that it was not designed to stay long in Arda. Whereas their own *fëar,* being designed to remain in Arda to its end, imposed long endurance on their bodies; for they were (as a fact of experience) in far greater control of them. (*Author's Note 5, p. 341*)

Beyond the 'End of Arda' Elvish thought could not penetrate, and they were without any specific instruction. (*Author's Note, 6, p. 341*) It seemed clear to them that their *hröar* must then end, and therefore any kind of re-incarnation would be impossible. *(Author's Note* 7, *p. 342)* All the Elves would then 'die' at the End of Arda. What this would mean they did not know. They said therefore that Men had a shadow behind them, but the Elves had a shadow before them.

Their dilemma was this: the thought of existence as *fëar* only was revolting to them, and they found it hard to believe that it was natural or designed for them, since they were essentially 'dwellers in Arda', and by nature wholly in love with Arda. The alternative: that their *fëar* would also cease to exist at 'the End', seemed even more intolerable. Both absolute annihilation, and cessation of conscious identity, were wholly repugnant to thought and desire.

(*Author's Note 8, p. 343*)

Some argued that, although integral and unique (as Eru from whom they directly proceeded), each *fëa,* being created, was finite, and might therefore be also of finite duration. It was not destructible within its appointed term, but when that was reached it ceased to be; or ceased to have any more experience, and 'resided only in the Past'.

But they saw that this did not provide any escape. For, even if an Elvish *fëa* was able 'consciously' to dwell in or contemplate the Past, this would be a condition wholly unsatisfying to its desire. (*Reference to Author's Note 8*) The Elves had (as they said themselves) a 'great talent' for memory, but this tended to regret rather than to joy. Also, however long the History of the Elves might become before it ended, it would be an object of too limited range. To be perpetually 'imprisoned in a tale' (as they said), even if it was a very great tale ending triumphantly, would become a torment.[5] For greater than the talent of memory was the Elvish talent for *making*, and for discovery. The Elvish *fëa* was above all designed to make things in co-operation with its *hröa.*

Therefore in the last resort the Elves were obliged to rest on 'naked *estel'* (as they said): the trust in Eru, that whatever He designed beyond the End would be recognized by each *fëa* as wholly satisfying (at the least). Probably it would contain joys unforeseeable. But they remained in the belief that it would remain in intelligible relation with their present nature and desires, proceed from them, and include them.

For these reasons the Elves were less sympathetic than Men expected to the lack of hope (or *estel*) in Men faced by death. Men were, of course, in general entirely ignorant of the 'Shadow Ahead' which conditioned Elvish thought and feeling, and simply envied Elvish 'immortality'. But the Elves were on their part generally ignorant of the persistent tradition among Men that Men were also by nature immortal.

As is seen in the *Athrabeth*, Finrod is deeply moved and amazed to discover this tradition. He uncovers a concomitant tradition that the change in the condition of Men from their original design was due to a primeval disaster, about which human lore is unclear, or Andreth is at least unwilling to say much. (*Author's Note* 9, *p. 343*) He remains, nonetheless, in the opinion that the condition of Men

before the disaster (or as we might say, of unfallen Man) cannot have been the same as that of the Elves. That is, their 'immortality' cannot have been the longevity within Arda of the Elves; otherwise they would have been simply Elves, and their separate introduction later into the Drama by Eru would have no function. He thinks that the notion of Men that, unchanged, they would not have died (in the sense of leaving Arda) is due to human misrepresentation of their own tradition, and possibly to envious comparison of themselves to the Elves. For one thing, he does not think this fits, as we might say, 'the observable peculiarities of human psychology', as compared with Elvish feelings towards the visible world.

He therefore guesses that it is the fear of death that is the result of the disaster. It is feared because it now is combined with severance of *hröa* and *fëa*. But the *fëar* of Men must have been designed to leave Arda willingly or indeed by desire — maybe after a longer time than the present average human life, but still in a time very short compared with Elvish lives. Then basing his argument on the axiom that severance of *hröa* and *fëa* is unnatural and contrary to design, he comes (or if you like jumps) to the conclusion that the *fëa* of unfallen Man would have taken with it its *hröa* into the new mode of existence (free from Time). In other words, that 'assumption' was the natural end of each human life, though as far as we know it has been the end of the only 'unfallen' member of Mankind.[6] He then has a vision of Men as the agents of the 'unmarring' of Arda, not merely undoing the marring or evil wrought by Melkor, but by producing a third thing, 'Arda Re-made' — for Eru never merely undoes the past, but brings into being something new, richer than the 'first design'. In Arda Re-made Elves and Men will each separately find joy and content, and an interplay of friendship, a bond of which will be the Past.

Andreth says that in that case the disaster to Men was appalling; for this re-making (if indeed it was the proper function of Men) cannot now be achieved. Finrod evidently remains in the hope that it will be achieved, though he does not say how that could be. He now sees, however, that the power of Melkor was greater than had been understood (even by the Elves, who had actually seen him in incarnate form): if he had been able to change Men, and so destroy the plan.[7]

More strictly speaking, he would say that Melkor had not 'changed' Men, but 'seduced' them (to allegiance to himself) very

early in their history, so that Eru had changed their 'fate'. For Melkor could seduce individual minds and wills, but he could not make this heritable, or alter (contrary to the will and design of Eru) the relation of a whole people to Time and Arda. But the power of Melkor over material things was plainly vast. The whole of Arda (and indeed probably many other parts of Eä) had been marred by him. Melkor was not just a local Evil on Earth, nor a Guardian Angel of Earth who had gone wrong: he was the Spirit of Evil, arising even before the making of Eä. His attempt to dominate the structure of Eä, and of Arda in particular, and alter the designs of Eru (which governed all the operations of the faithful Valar), had introduced evil, or a tendency to aberration from the design, into all the physical matter of Arda. It was for this reason, no doubt, that he had been totally successful with Men, but only partially so with Elves (who remained as a people 'unfallen'). His power was wielded over matter, and through it. *(Author's Note 10, p. 344*) But by nature the *fëar* of Men were in much less strong control of their *hröar* than was the case with the Elves. Individual Elves might be seduced to a kind of minor 'Melkorism': desiring to be their own masters in Arda, and to have things their own way, leading in extreme cases to rebellion against the tutelage of the Valar; but not one had ever entered the service or allegiance of Melkor himself, nor ever denied the existence and absolute supremacy of Eru. Some dreadful things of this sort, Finrod guesses, Men must have done, as a whole; but Andreth does not reveal what were Men's traditions on this point. (*Reference to Author's Note 9*)

Finrod, however, sees now that, as things were, no created thing or being in Arda, or in all Eä, was powerful enough to counteract or heal Evil: that is to subdue Melkor (in his present person, reduced though that was) *and* the Evil that he had dissipated and sent out from himself into the very structure of the world.

Only Eru himself could do this. Therefore, since it was unthinkable that Eru would abandon the world to the ultimate triumph and domination of Melkor (which could mean its ruin and reduction to chaos), Eru Himself must at some time come to oppose Melkor. But Eru could not enter *wholly* into the world and its history, which is, however great, only a finite Drama. He must as Author always remain 'outside' the Drama, even though that Drama depends on His design and His will for its beginning and continuance, in every detail and moment. Finrod therefore thinks

that He will, when He comes, have to be both ‘outside’ and inside; and so he glimpses the possibility of complexity or of distinctions in the nature of Eru, which nonetheless leaves Him ‘The One’. (*Author’s Note 11, p. 345*)

Since Finrod had already guessed that the redemptive function was originally specially assigned to Men, he probably proceeded to the expectation that ‘the coming of Eru’, if it took place, would be specially and primarily concerned with Men: that is to an imaginative guess or vision that Eru would come incarnated in human form. This, however, does not appear in the *Athrabeth*.

The argument is not, of course, presented in the *Athrabeth* in these terms, or in this order, or so precisely. The *Athrabeth* is a conversation, in which many assumptions and steps of thought have to be supplied by the reader. Actually, though it deals with such things as death and the relations of Elves and Men to Time and Arda, and to one another, its real purpose is dramatic: to exhibit the generosity of Finrod’s mind, his love and pity for Andreth, and the tragic situations that must arise in the meeting of Elves and Men (in the ages of the youth of the Elves). For as eventually becomes plain, Andreth had in youth fallen in love with Aegnor, Finrod’s brother; and though she knew that he returned her love (or could have done so if he had deigned to), he had not declared it, but had left her — and she believed that she was rejected as too lowly for an Elf. Finrod (though she was not aware of this) knew about this situation. For this reason he understood and did not take offence at the bitterness with which she spoke of the Elves, and even of the Valar. He succeeded in the end in making her understand that she was not ‘rejected’ out of scorn or Elvish lordliness; but that the departure of Aegnor was for motives of ‘wisdom’, and cost Aegnor great pain: he was an equal victim of the tragedy.

In the event Aegnor perished soon after this conversation,[8] when Melkor broke the Siege of Angband in the ruinous Battle of Sudden Flame, and the destruction of the Elvish realms in Beleriand was begun. Finrod took refuge in the great southern stronghold of Nargothrond; but not long after sacrificed his life to save Beren One-hand. (It is probable, though nowhere stated, that Andreth herself perished at this time, for all the northern realm, where Finrod and his brothers, and the People of Bëor, dwelt was devastated and conquered by Melkor. But she would then be a very

old woman.)[9]

Finrod thus was slain before the two marriages of Elves and Men had taken place, though without his aid the marriage of Beren and Lúthien would not have come to pass. The marriage of Beren certainly fulfilled his prediction that such marriages would only be for some high purpose of Doom, and that the least cruel fate would be that death should soon end them.

Author's Notes on the 'Commentary'

Note 1

Because *fëar* were held to be directly created by Eru, and 'sent into' Eä; whereas Eä was achieved mediately by the Valar.

According to the *Ainulindalë* there were five stages in Creation. a. The creation of the Ainur. b. The communication by Eru of his Design to the Ainur. c. The Great Music, which was as it were a rehearsal, and remained in the stage of thought or imagination, d. The 'Vision' of Eru, which was again only a foreshowing of possibility, and was incomplete. e. The Achievement, which is still going on.

The Eldar held that Eru was and is free at all stages. This freedom was shown in the Music by His introduction, after the arising of the discords of Melkor, of the two new themes, representing the coming of Elves and Men, which were not in His first communication.[10] He may therefore in stage 5 introduce things directly, which were not in the Music and so are not achieved through the Valar. It remains, nonetheless, true in general to regard Eä as achieved through their mediation.

The additions of Eru, however, will not be 'alien'; they will be accommodated to the nature and character of Eä and of those that dwell in it; they may enhance the past and enrich its purpose and significance, but they will contain it and not destroy it.

Thus the 'newness' of the themes of the Children of Eru, Elves and Men, consisted in the association of *fëar* with, or 'housing' them in, *hröar* belonging to Eä, in such a way that either were incomplete without the others. But the *fëar* were not spirits of a wholly different kind to the Ainur; whereas the bodies were of a kind closely akin to the bodies of living things already in the primary design (even if adapted to their new function, or modified by the indwelling *fëar*).

Note 2

Arda, or 'The Kingdom of Arda' (as being directly under the kingship of Eru's vice-gerent Manwë) is not easy to translate, since neither 'earth' nor 'world' are entirely suitable. Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System.[11] Presumably the Eldar could have had as much and as accurate information concerning this, its structure, origin, and its relation to the rest of Eä (the Universe) as they could comprehend. Probably those who were interested did acquire this knowledge. Not all the Eldar were interested in everything; most of them concentrated their attention on (or as they said 'were in love with') the Earth.

The traditions here referred to have come down from the Eldar of the First Age, through Elves who never were directly acquainted with the Valar, and through Men who received 'lore' from the Elves, but who had myths and cosmogonic legends, and astronomical guesses, of their own. There is, however, nothing in them that seriously conflicts with present human notions of the Solar System, and its size and position relative to the Universe. It must be remembered, however, that it does not necessarily follow that 'True Information' concerning Arda (such as the ancient Eldar might have received from the Valar) must agree with Men's present theories. Also, the Eldar (and the Valar) were not overwhelmed or even principally impressed by notions of size and distance. Their interest, certainly the interest of the *Silmarillion* and all related matter, may be termed 'dramatic'. Places or worlds were interesting or important because of what happened in them.

It is certainly the case with the Elvish traditions that the principal part of Arda was the Earth (*Imbar* 'The Habitation'),[12] as the scene of the Drama of the war of the Valar and the Children of Eru with Melkor: so that loosely used Arda often seems to mean the Earth: and that from this point of view the function of the Solar System was to make possible the existence of Imbar. With regard to the relation of Arda to Eä, the assertion that the principal demiurgic Ainur (the Valar), including the originally greatest of all, Melkor, had taken up their 'residence' in Arda,[13] ever since its establishment, also implies that however minute Arda was dramatically the chief point in Eä.

These views are not mathematical or astronomical, or even biological, and so cannot be held necessarily to conflict with the theories of our physical sciences. We cannot say that there 'must' be

elsewhere in Eä other solar systems 'like' Arda, still less that, if there are, they or any one of them must contain a parallel to Imbar. We cannot even say that these things are mathematically very 'likely'. But *even* if *the presence elsewhere* in Eä of biological 'life' was demonstrable, it would not invalidate the Elvish view that Arda (at least while it endures) is the dramatic centre. The demonstration that there existed elsewhere Incarnates, parallel to the Children of Eru, would of course modify the picture, though not wholly invalidate it. The Elvish answer would probably be: 'Well, that is another Tale. It is not our Tale. Eru can no doubt bring to pass more than one. Not everything is adumbrated in the *Ainulindalë*; or the *Ainulindalë* may have a wider reference than we knew: other dramas, like in kind if different in process and result, may have gone on in Eä, or may yet go on.' But they would certainly add: 'But they are not going on now. The drama of Arda is the present concern of Eä.' Actually it is plainly the view of the Elvish tradition that the Drama of Arda is unique. We cannot at present assert that this is untrue.

The Elves were of course primarily and deeply (more deeply than Men) concerned with Arda, and Imbar in particular. They appear to have held that the physical universe, Eä, had a beginning and would have an end: that it was limited and finite in all dimensions. They certainly held that all things or 'makings', that is constructed (however simply and incipiently) from basic 'matter', which they called *erma*,[14] were impermanent, within Eä. They were therefore much concerned with 'The End of Arda'. They knew themselves to be limited by Arda; but the length of its existence they do not seem to have known. Possibly the Valar did not know. More probably, they were not informed by the will or design of Eru, who appears in the Elvish tradition to demand two things from His Children (of either Kindred): belief in Him, and proceeding from that, hope or trust in Him (called by the Eldar *estel*).

But in any case, whether adumbrated in the Music or not, the End could be brought about by Eru at any time by intervention, so that it could not be certainly foreseen. (A minor and as it were foreshadowing intervention of this sort was the catastrophe in which Númenor was obliterated, and the physical residence of the Valar in Imbar was ended.) The Elvish conception of the End was in fact *catastrophic*. They did not think that Arda (or at any rate Imbar) would just run down into lifeless inanition. But this conception was

not embodied by them in any myth or legend. See Note 7.

Note 3

In Elvish tradition their re-incarnation was a special permission granted by Eru to Manwë, when Manwë directly consulted Him at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel.[15] (Míriel 'died' in Aman by refusing to live any longer in the body, and so raised the whole question of the unnatural divorce of an Elvish *fëa* and its *hröa*, and of the bereavement of Elves that still lived: Finwë, her husband, was left solitary.) The Valar, or Mandos as the mouthpiece of all commands and in many cases their executor, were given power to summon, with full authority, all houseless *fëar* of Elves to Aman. There they were given the choice to remain houseless, or (if they wished) to be re-housed in the same form and shape as they had had.[16] Normally they must nonetheless remain in Aman.[17] Therefore, if they dwelt in Middle-earth, their bereavement of friends and kin, and the bereavement of these, was not amended. Death was not wholly healed. But as Andreth saw, this certitude concerning their immediate future after death, and the knowledge that at the least they would again if they wished be able as *incarnates* to do and make things and continue their experience of Arda, made death to the Elves a totally different thing from death as it appeared to Men.

They were given a choice, because Eru did not allow their free will to be taken away. Similarly the houseless *fëar* were *summoned*, not brought, to Mandos. They could refuse the summons, but this would imply that they were in some way tainted, or they would not wish to refuse the authority of Mandos: refusal had grave consequences, inevitably proceeding from the rebellion against authority.

They 'normally remained in Aman'. Simply because they were, when rehoused, again in actual physical bodies, and return to Middle-earth was therefore very difficult and perilous. Also during the period of the Exile of the Noldor the Valar had for the time being cut all communications (by physical means) between Aman and Middle-earth. The Valar could of course have arranged for the transference, if there was sufficiently grave reason. Bereavement of friends and kin was, apparently, not considered a sufficient reason. Probably under instruction of Eru. In any case, as far as the Noldor

were concerned, these had, as a people, cut themselves off from mercy; they had left Aman demanding absolute freedom to be their own masters, to carry on their war against Melkor with their own unaided valour, and to face death and its consequences. The only case of a special arrangement recorded in the Histories is that of Beren and Lúthien. Beren was slain soon after their marriage, and Lúthien died of grief. They were both re-housed and sent back to Beleriand; but both became 'mortal' and died later according to the normal human span. The reasons for this, which must have been done by an express permission of Eru, were not fully apparent until later, but were certainly of unique weight. The grief of Lúthien was so great that according to the Eldar it moved the pity of even Mandos the Unmoved. Beren and Lúthien together had achieved the greatest of all the deeds against Melkor: regaining one of the Silmarils. Lúthien was not of the Noldor but daughter of Thingol (of the Teleri), and her mother Melian was 'divine', a *maia* (one of the minor members of the spirit-race of the Valar). Thus from the union of Lúthien and Beren which was made possible by their return, the infusion of a 'divine' and an Elvish strain into Mankind was to be brought about, providing a link between Mankind and the Elder World, after the establishment of the Dominion of Men.

Note 4

Sooner or later: because the Elves believed that the *fëar* of dead Men also went to Mandos (without choice in the matter: their free will with regard to death was taken away). There they waited until they were surrendered to Eru. The truth of this is not asserted. No living Man was allowed to go to Aman. No *fëa* of a dead Man ever returned to life in Middle-earth. To all such statements and decrees there are always some exceptions (because of the 'freedom of Eru'). Eärendil reached Aman, even in the time of the Ban; but he bore the Silmaril recovered by his ancestress Lúthien,[18] and he was 'half-elven': he was not allowed to return to Middle-earth. Beren returned to actual life, for a short time; but he was not actually seen again by living Men.

The passing 'oversea' to Eressëa (an isle within sight of Aman) was permitted to, and indeed urged upon, all Elves remaining in Middle-earth after the downfall of Morgoth in Angband. This really marked the beginning of the Dominion of Men, though there was

(in our view) a long twilight period between the downfall of Morgoth and the final overthrow of Sauron: lasting, that is, through the Second and Third Ages. But at the end of the Second Age came the great Catastrophe (by an intervention of Eru that foreshadowed, as it were, the End of Arda): the annihilation of Númenor, and the 'removal' of Aman from the physical world. The passing 'oversea', therefore, of Mortals after the Catastrophe — which is recorded in *The Lord of the Rings* — is not quite the same thing. It was in any case a special grace. An opportunity for dying according to the original plan for the unfallen: they went to a state in which they could acquire greater knowledge and peace of mind, and being healed of all hurts both of mind and body, could at last surrender themselves: die of free will, and even of desire, in *estel*. A thing which Aragorn achieved without any such aid.

Note 5

They were thus capable of far greater and longer physical exertions (in pursuit of some dominant purpose of their minds) without weariness; they were not subject to diseases; they healed rapidly and completely after injuries that would have proved fatal to Men; and they could endure great physical pain for long periods. Their bodies could not, however, survive vital injuries, or violent assaults upon their structure; nor replace missing members (such as a hand hewn off). On the reverse side: the Elves could die, and did die, by their will; as for example because of great grief or bereavement, or because of the frustration of their dominant desires and purposes. This wilful death was not regarded as wicked, but it was a fault implying some defect or taint in the *fëa,* and those who came to Mandos by this means might be refused further incarnate life.

Note 6

Because the Valar had no information; or because information was withheld. See Note 2 [fifth paragraph].

Note 7

See Note 2. The Elves expected the End of Arda to be catastrophic. They thought that it would be brought about by the dissolution of the structure of Imbar at least, if not of the whole system. The End

of Arda is not, of course, the same thing as the end of Eä. About this they held that nothing could be known, except that Eä was ultimately finite. It is noteworthy that the Elves had no myths or legends dealing with the end of the world. The myth that appears at the end of the *Silmarillion* is of Númenórean origin;[19] it is clearly made by Men, though Men acquainted with Elvish tradition. All Elvish traditions are presented as 'histories', or as accounts of what once was.

We are here dealing with Elvish thought at an early period, when the Eldar were still fully 'physical' in bodily form. Much later, when the process (already glimpsed by Finrod) called 'waning' or 'fading' had become more effective, their views of the End of Arda, so far as it affected themselves, must have been modified. But there are few records of any contacts of Elvish and Human thought in such latter days. They eventually became housed, if it can be called that, not in actual visible and tangible *hröar*, but only in the memory of the *fëa* of its bodily form, and its desire for it; and therefore not dependent for mere existence upon the material of Arda.[20] But they appear to have held, and indeed still to hold, that this desire for the *hröa* shows that their later (and present) condition is not natural to them, and they remain in *estel* that Eru will heal it. 'Not natural', whether it is due wholly, as they earlier thought, to the weakening of the *hröa* (derived from the debility introduced by Melkor into the substance of Arda upon which it must feed), or partly to the inevitable working of a dominant *fëa* upon a material *hröa* through many ages. (In the latter case 'natural' can refer only to an ideal state, in which unmarred matter could for ever endure the indwelling of a perfectly adapted *fëa*. It cannot refer to the actual design of Eru, since the Themes of the Children were introduced after the arising of the discords of Melkor. The 'waning' of the Elvish *hröar* must therefore be part of the History of Arda as envisaged by Eru, and the mode in which the Elves were to make way for the Dominion of Men. The Elves find their supersession by Men a mystery, and a cause of grief; for they say that Men, at least so largely governed as they are by the evil of Melkor, have less and less *love* for Arda in itself, and are largely busy in destroying it in the attempt to dominate it. They still believe that Eru's healing of all the griefs of Arda will come now by or through Men; but the Elves' part in the healing or redemption will be chiefly in the restoration of the *love* of Arda, to which their

memory of the Past and understanding of what might have been will contribute. Arda they say will be destroyed by wicked Men (or the wickedness in Men); but healed through the goodness in Men. The wickedness, the domineering lovelessness, the Elves will offset. By the holiness of good men — their direct attachment to Eru, before and above all Eru's works[21] – the Elves may be delivered from the last of their griefs: sadness; the sadness that must come even from the unselfish love of anything less than Eru.)

Note 8

Desire. The Elves insisted that 'desires', especially such fundamental desires as are here dealt with, were to be taken as indications of the true natures of the Incarnates, and of the direction in which their unmarred fulfilment must lie. They distinguished between *desire of the fëa* (perception that something right or necessary is not present, leading to desire or hope for it); *wish*, or *personal wish* (the feeling of the lack of something, the force of which primarily concerns oneself, and which may have little or no reference to the general fitness of things); *illusion*, the refusal to recognize that things are not as they should be, leading to the delusion that they are as one would desire them to be, when they are not so. (The last might now be called 'wishful thinking', legitimately; but this term, the Elves would say, is quite illegitimate when applied to the first. The last can be disproved by reference to facts. The first not so. Unless desirability is held to be *always* delusory, and the sole basis for the hope of amendment. But *desires of the fëa* may often be shown to be reasonable by arguments quite unconnected with personal wish. The fact that they *accord* with 'desire', or even with personal wish, does not invalidate them. Actually the Elves believed that the 'lightening of the heart' or the 'stirring of joy' (to which they often refer), which may accompany the hearing of a proposition or an argument, is not an indication of its falsity but of the recognition by the *fëa* that it is on the path of truth.)

Note 9

It is probable that Andreth was actually unwilling to say more. Partly by a kind of loyalty that restrained Men from revealing to the Elves all that they knew about the darkness in their past; partly because she felt unable to make up her own mind about the

conflicting human traditions. Longer recensions of the *Athrabeth*, evidently edited under Númenórean influence, make her give, under pressure, a more precise answer. Some are very brief, some longer. All agree, however, in making the cause of disaster the acceptance by Men of Melkor as King (or King and God). In one version a complete legend (compressed in time-scale) is given explicitly as a Númenórean tradition, for it makes Andreth say: *This is the Tale that Adanel of the House of Hador told to me*. The Númenóreans were largely, and their non-Elvish traditions mainly, derived from the People of Marach, of whom the House of Hador were the chieftains.[22] The legend bears certain resemblances to the Númenórean traditions concerning the part played by Sauron in the downfall of Númenor. But this does not prove that it is entirely a fiction of post-downfall days. It is no doubt mainly derived from actual lore of the People of Marach, quite independent of the *Athrabeth*. *[Added note:* Nothing is hereby asserted concerning its 'truth', historical or otherwise.] The operations of Sauron naturally and inevitably resembled or repeated those of his master. That a people in possession of such a legend or tradition should have later been deluded by Sauron is sad but, in view of human history generally, not incredible. Indeed if fish had fish-lore and Wise-fish, it is probable that the business of anglers would be very little hindered.[23]

The 'Tale of Adanel' is attached [pp. 345–9].

Note 10

'Matter' is not regarded as evil or opposed to 'Spirit'. Matter was wholly good in origin. It remained a 'creature of Eru' and still largely good, and indeed self-healing, when not interfered with: that is, when the latent evil intruded by Melkor was not deliberately roused and used by evil minds. Melkor had concentrated his attention on 'matter', because spirits could only be dominated completely by fear; and fear was most easily exerted through matter (especially in the case of the Incarnates, whom he most desired to subjugate). For example by fear that material things that were loved might be destroyed, or the fear (in Incarnates) that their bodies might be hurt. (Melkor also used and perverted for his purposes the 'fear of Eru', fully or vaguely understood. But this was more difficult and perilous and required more cunning. Lesser spirits

might be lured by love or admiration of himself and his powers, and so led at last into a posture of rebellion against Eru. Their fear of Him might then be darkened, so that they adhered to Melkor, as a captain and protector, becoming at last too terrified to return to the allegiance of Eru, even after they had discovered Melkor and had begun to hate him.)

Note 11

This is actually already glimpsed in the *Ainulindalë*, in which reference is made to the 'Flame Imperishable'. This appears to mean the Creative activity of Eru (in some sense distinct from or within Him), by which things could be given a 'real' and independent (though derivative and created) existence. The Flame Imperishable is sent out from Eru, to dwell in the heart of the world, and the world then Is, on the same plane as the Ainur, and they can enter into it. But this is not, of course, the same as the re-entry of Eru to defeat Melkor. It refers rather to the mystery of 'authorship', by which the author, while remaining 'outside' and independent of his work, also 'indwells' in it, on its derivative plane, below that of his own being, as the source and guarantee of its being.

[*'The Tale of Adanel'*]

Then Andreth being urged by Finrod said at last: 'This is the tale that Adanel of the House of Hador told to me:'

Some say the Disaster happened at the beginning of the history of our people, before any had yet died. The Voice had spoken to us, and we had listened. The Voice said: 'Ye are my children. I have sent you to dwell here. In time ye will inherit all this Earth, but first ye must be children and learn. Call on me and I shall hear; for I am watching over you.'

We understood the Voice in our hearts, though we had no words yet. Then the desire for words awoke in us, and we began to make them. But we were few, and the world was wide and strange. Though we greatly desired to understand, learning was difficult, and the making of words was slow.

In that time we called often and the Voice answered. But it seldom answered our questions, saying only: 'First seek to find the answer for yourselves. For ye will have joy in the finding, and so grow from childhood and become wise. Do not seek to leave

childhood before your time.'

But we were in haste, and we desired to order things to our will; and the shapes of many things that we wished to make awoke in our minds. Therefore we spoke less and less to the Voice.

Then one appeared among us, in our own form visible, but greater and more beautiful; and he said that he had come out of pity. 'Ye should not have been left alone and uninstructed,' he said. 'The world is full of marvellous riches which knowledge can unlock. Ye could have food more abundant and more delicious than the poor things that ye now eat. Ye could have dwellings of ease, in which ye could keep light and shut out the night. Ye could be clad even as I.'

Then we looked and lo! he was clad in raiment that shone like silver and gold, and he had a crown on his head, and gems in his hair. 'If ye wish to be like me,' he said, 'I will teach you.' Then we took him as teacher.

He was less swift than we had hoped to teach us how to find, or to make for ourselves, the things that we desired, though he had awakened many desires in our hearts. But if any doubted or were impatient, he would bring and set before us all that we wished for. 'I am the Giver of Gifts,' he said; 'and the gifts shall never fail as long as ye trust me.'

Therefore we revered him, and we were enthralled by him; and we depended upon his gifts, fearing to return to a life without them that now seemed poor and hard. And we believed all that he taught. For we were eager to know about the world and its being: about the beasts and birds, and the plants that grew in the Earth; about our own making; and about the lights of heaven, and the countless stars, and the Dark in which they are set.

All that he taught seemed good, for he had great knowledge. But ever more and more he would speak of the Dark. 'Greatest of all is the Dark,' he said, 'for It has no bounds. I came out of the Dark, but I am Its master. For I have made Light. I made the Sun and the Moon and the countless stars. I will protect you from the Dark, which else would devour you.'

Then we spoke of the Voice. But his face became terrible; for he was angry. 'Fools!' he said. 'That was the Voice of the Dark. It wishes to keep you from me; for It is hungry for you.'

Then he went away, and we did not see him for a long time, and without his gifts we were poor. And there came a day when

suddenly the Sun's light began to fail, until it was blotted out and a great shadow fell on the world; and all the beasts and birds were afraid. Then he came again, walking through the shadow like a bright fire.

We fell upon our faces. There are some among you who are still listening to the Voice of the Dark,' he said, 'and therefore It is drawing nearer. Choose now! Ye may have the Dark as Lord, or ye may have Me. But unless ye take Me for Lord and swear to serve Me, I shall depart and leave you; for I have other realms and dwelling places, and I do not need the Earth, nor you.'

Then in fear we spoke as he commanded, saying: Thou art the Lord; Thee only we will serve. The Voice we abjure and will not hearken to it again.'

'So be it!' he said. 'Now build Me a house upon a high place, and call it the House of the Lord. Thither I will come when I will. There ye shall call on Me and make your petitions to Me.'

And when we had built a great house, he came and stood before the high seat, and the house was lit as with fire. 'Now,' he said, 'come forth any who still listen to the Voice!'

There were some, but for fear they remained still and said naught. 'Then bow before Me and acknowledge Me!' he said. And all bowed to the ground before him, saying: 'Thou art the One Great, and we are Thine.'

Thereupon he went up as in a great flame and smoke, and we were scorched by the heat. But suddenly he was gone, and it was darker than night; and we fled from the House.

Ever after we went in great dread of the Dark; but he seldom appeared among us again in fair form, and he brought few gifts. If at great need we dared to go to the House and pray to him to help us, we heard his voice, and received his commands. But now he would always command us to do some deed, or to give him some gift, before he would listen to our prayer; and ever the deeds became worse, and the gifts harder to give up.

The first Voice we never heard again, save once. In the stillness of the night It spoke, saying: 'Ye have abjured Me, but ye remain Mine. I gave you life. Now it shall be shortened, and each of you in a little while shall come to Me, to learn who is your Lord: the one ye worship, or I who made him.'

Then our terror of the Dark was increased; for we believed that the Voice was of the Darkness behind the stars. And some of us

began to die in horror and anguish, fearing to go out into the Dark. Then we called on our Master to save us from death, and he did not answer. But when we went to the House and all bowed down there, at last he came, great and majestic, but his face was cruel and proud.

'Now ye are Mine and must do My will,' he said. 'I do not trouble that some of you die and go to appease the hunger of the Dark; for otherwise there would soon be too many of you, crawling like lice on the Earth. But if ye do not do My will, ye will feel My anger, and ye will die sooner, for I will slay you.'

Thereafter we were grievously afflicted, by weariness, and hunger, and sickness; and the Earth and all things in it were turned against us. Fire and Water rebelled against us. The birds and beasts shunned us, or if they were strong they assailed us. Plants gave us poison; and we feared the shadows under trees.

Then we yearned for our life as it was before our Master came; and we hated him, but feared him no less than the Dark. And we did his bidding, and more than his bidding; for anything that we thought would please him, however evil, we did, in the hope that he would lighten our afflictions, and at the least would not slay us.

For most of us this was in vain. But to some he began to show favour: to the strongest and cruellest, and to those who went most often to the House. He gave gifts to them, and knowledge that they kept secret; and they became powerful and proud, and they enslaved us, so that we had no rest from labour amidst our afflictions.

Then there arose some among us who said openly in their despair: 'Now we know at last who lied, and who desired to devour us. Not the first Voice. It is the Master that we have taken who is the Darkness; and he did not come forth from it, as he said, but he dwells in it. We will serve him no longer! He is our Enemy.'

Then in fear lest he should hear them and punish us all, we slew them, if we could; and those that fled we hunted; and if any were caught, our masters, his friends, commanded that they should be taken to the House and there done to death by fire. That pleased him greatly, his friends said; and indeed for a while it seemed that our afflictions were lightened.

But it is told that there were a few that escaped us, and went away into far countries, fleeing from the shadow. Yet they did not escape from the anger of the Voice; for they had built the House and bowed down in

it. And they came at last to the land's end and the shores of the impassable water; and behold! the Enemy was there before them.

Together with the *Athrabeth* papers there is a *Glossary* (as my father termed it), a brief index of names and terms with definitions and some etymological information. This is confined to the *Athrabeth* itself, and so from the nature of the work is not large, but there are a few omissions (as *Athrabeth*, *Andreth*, and names of the People of Bëor). Written in manuscript, it was made after the amanuensis typescripts of the *Athrabeth* had been taken from the manuscript and emended, as the entry *Mirröanwi* shows (see p. 326 note 10). It seems curious that my father should have provided this, since most of the definitions or explanations would be unnecessary to one who had read *The Silmarillion*, and taken with the explanations of fundamental conceptions that appear in the Commentary may suggest that he conceived it as an independent work — although on one of the newspaper wrappers of the *Athrabeth* papers (p. 329) he noted that it should be the last item in an Appendix (to *The Silmarillion*).

Most of the information provided is readily found elsewhere, and I give only a selection of the entries, in whole or in part, with very slight editing for purposes of clarity.

Adaneth Sindarin, 'woman, mortal woman'.

Arda 'kingdom', sc. the 'kingdom of Manwë'. The 'Solar System', or Earth as the *dramatic* centre of this, as the scene of the war of the 'Children of Eru' against Melkor.

Edennil (Quenya *Atandil*) 'devoted to the *Atani*, Men'; name given to Finrod.

[Extracted from entry *Eldar*:] But only part of the Eldar actually reached Aman. A large part of the Third Host (*Lindar* 'Singers', also called *Teleri* 'Those Behind') remained in the West of Middle-earth. These are the *Sindar* 'Grey-elves'…. The Elves who were in or who ever had dwelt in Aman were called the High-elves *(Tareldar*) .[24]

fëa 'spirit': the particular 'spirit' belonging to and 'housed' in any one *hröa* of the Incarnates. It corresponds, more or less, to 'soul'; and to 'mind', when any attempt is made to distinguish between mentality, and the mental processes of Incarnates, conditioned and limited by the co-operation of the physical organs of the *hröa*. It was thus in its being (apart from its experience) the

impulse and power to think: enquire and reflect, as distinct from the means of acquiring data. It was conscious and self-aware: 'self' however in Incarnates included the *hröa*. The *fëa* was said by the Eldar to retain the impress or memory of the *hröa* and of all the combined experiences of itself and its body. (Quenya *fëa* (dissyllabic) is from older **phãya*. Sindarin *faer*, of the same meaning, corresponds to Quenya *fairë* 'spirit (in general)', as opposed to matter *(erma)* or 'flesh' *(hrávë)*.)

Finarphin / Finarfin [the name is given thus in alternative spellings]

hröa See *fëa*. (The Quenya form is derived from older **srawã*. The Sindarin form of *hröa* and *hrávë* (*srāwē*) was *rhaw:* cf. *Mirröanwi*.)

Mandos [extract] (The name *Mandos* (stem *mandost-*) means approximately 'castle of custody': from *mbandō* 'custody, safekeeping', and *osto* 'a strong or fortified building or place'. The Sindarin form of *mbandō*, Quenya *mando*, was *band*, occurring in *Angband* 'Iron-gaol', the name given to Morgoth's dwelling, Quenya *Angamando*.)

Melkor (*also Melko*) [extract] (*Melkor*, in older form *Melkórë,* probably means 'Mighty-rising', sc. 'uprising of power'; *Melko* simply 'the Mighty One'.)25

Mirröanwi Incarnates; those (spirits) 'put into flesh'; cf. *hröa*. (From **mi-srawanwe*.)

Ñoldor The name means 'lore-masters' or those specially devoted to knowledge. (The most ancient form was *ngolodō*, Quenya *noldo*, Sindarin *golodh*: in the transcription *ñ* = the Fëanorian letter for the back nasal, the *ng* of *king*.)26 The Quenya word *ñólë* meant 'lore, knowledge', but its Sindarin equivalent *gûl*, owing to its frequent use in such combinations as *morgul* (cf. *Minas Morgul* in *The Lord of the Rings*) was only used for evil or perverted knowledge, necromancy, sorcery. This word *gûl* was also used in the language of Mordor.

Valar [extract] (The name) means 'those with power, the Powers'. But it should more strictly be translated 'the Authorities'. The 'power' of the Valar resided in the 'authority' they had from Eru. They had sufficient 'power' for their functions — that is, vast or godlike power over, and knowledge of, the physical structure of the Universe, and understanding of the designs of Eru. But they were forbidden to use *force* upon the Children of Eru. The stem

melk-27 (seen in *Melkor*) on the other hand means 'power' as force and strength.

I have referred (p. 303) to the existence of original draft material for the *Athrabeth*. The chief element in this is a small bundle of slips made from Merton College documents of 1955 and written very rapidly in ball-point pen; but it is plain that my father was following an earlier text, no longer extant, which he could not read at all points: words are marked with queries, dots are put in for missing phrases (some of which were filled in doubtfully afterwards), and some sentences do not seems to be correct. This draft, which I will call 'A', corresponds to the section in the final text from Finrod's words 'But what then shall we think of the union in Man' on p. 317 to 'then Eru must come in to conquer him' on p. 322; but the one is in certain respects extraordinarily different from the other. I give here two extracts to illustrate this. The first takes up from Finrod's questions (p. 318) 'Or is there some where else a world of which all things which we see, all things that either Elves or Men know, are only tokens or reminders?':

> 'If so it resides only in the mind of Eru,' said Andreth. 'But to such questions I know no answer. This much only can I say: that among us some hold that our errand here was to heal the Marring of Arda, and by making the *hröa* partake in the life of the *fëa* to put it beyond any marring of Melkor or any other spirit of malice for ever. But that "Arda Healed" (or Remade) shall not be "Arda Unmarred", but a third thing and a greater. And that third thing maybe is in the mind of Eru, and is in his answer. You have spoken to me of the Music and you have conversed with the Valar who were present at its making ere the world began. Did they hear the end of the Music? Or was there not something beyond the final chords of Eru, which (being overwhelmed thereby) the Valar did not hear? Or again maybe, since Eru is for ever free, He made no music and showed no Vision beyond a certain point. Beyond that point (which neither Valar nor Eldar …) we cannot see or know, until, each by our own roads, we come there.'
>
> 'In what did Melkor's malice show itself?'
>
> Darkness lies over that. Saelon (sc. Andreth)28 has little to answer. 'Some men say that he blasphemed Eru, and denied His existence, or His power, and that our fathers assented, and took Melkor to be a Lord and God; and that thereby our *fëar* denied their own true nature, and so became darkened and weakened almost to the death (if that be possible for *fëar*). And through the weakness of the *fëar* our *hröar* fell into unhealth, and lay open to all evils and disorders of the world. And

others say that Eru himself spoke in wrath, saying: "If the Darkness be your God, little here shall you have of Light, but shall leave it soon and come before Me, to learn who lieth: Melkor or I Who made him."'[29]

The second passage corresponds in its placing to that beginning at Andreth's words in the final text (p. 321) 'Asleep or awake, they say nothing clearly':

'… Some say that … Eru will find a way of healing that will heal both our fathers and ourselves and those that shall follow us. But how that shall come to pass, or to what manner of being this healing will make us, only those of the Hope (as we say) can guess; none can clearly assert.

'But there are among us a few (of whom I am one) who have the Great Hope, as we call it, and believe that His secret has been handed down from the days before our wounding. This is the Great Hope: that Eru will himself enter into Arda and heal Men and all the Marring.'

'But this is a strange thing! Do you claim to have known of Eru before ever we met? What is his name?'

'As it is with you, but different only in form of sound: The One.'

'But still this passes my understanding,' said Finrod. 'For how could Eru enter into the thing that He has made, and than which He is infinitely greater? Can the poet enter his story or the designer enter his picture?'

'He is already in it, and outside it,' said Saelon, 'though not in the same mode.'

'Yea verily,' said Finrod, 'and so is Eru in that mode / sense in Arda. But you speak of Eru *entering* into Arda, which is surely another matter. How could he do so, who is infinitely greater: would it not shatter Arda, or indeed Eä?'

'He could find a way, I doubt not,' said Saelon, 'though indeed I cannot conceive the way. But whatever you think, that is the Great Hope of Men. And I do not see — so to speak with humility — what else could be done; since Eru will surely not suffer Melkor to triumph and abandon His own work. But there is nothing more powerful that is conceivable than Melkor, save Eru only. Therefore Eru, if he will not relinquish his work to Melkor, who is ……., Eru must come in to conquer him.

At this point the draft text A ends. It will be seen in the first of these passages that the large vision of Finrod in the final form of the *Athrabeth* concerning 'Arda Remade', which arises in his mind from the words of Andreth, was originally a belief held by certain of the Atani, and it is Andreth who proposes the idea that this vision was absent from the end of the Music of the Ainur, or was not perceived

by them; while in the second passage Andreth names herself as one of those who entertains 'the Great Hope', and to Finrod's incredulity that Eru could enter into Arda she provides those same speculative answers that are given to Finrod in the final text. It is thus apparent that my father's ideas concerning not only the structure and tenor of the 'Converse of Finrod and Andreth' but the very nature of the beliefs of the first Men in Beleriand underwent a major development as he worked on the *Athrabeth*.

An isolated page ('B') written, like draft A, on a Merton College document of 1955, carries an interesting passage that was not used in the final version.

> 'What says the wisdom of Men concerning the nature of the *Mirruyaina*?' said Finrod. 'Or what do you hold, Andreth, who know also much of the teaching of the Eldar?'
>
> 'Men say various things, be they Wise or no,' said Andreth. 'Many hold that there is but a single thing: the body, and that we are one of the beasts, though the latest come and the most cunning. But others hold that the body is not all, but contains some other thing. For often we speak of the body as a "house", or as "raiment", and that implies an indwelling, though of what we speak in uncertainty.[30]
>
> 'Among my folk men speak mostly of the "breath" (or the "breath of life"), and they say that if it leaves the house, it may by seeing eyes be seen as a *wraith*, a shadowy image of the living thing that was.'
>
> 'That is but a guess,' said Finrod, 'and long ago we said things similar, but we know now that the Indweller is not "breath"[31] (which the *hröa* uses), and that seeing eyes cannot see one that is houseless, but that the living eyes may draw from the *fëa* within an image which the houseless conveys to the housed: the memory of itself.'
>
> 'Maybe,' said Andreth. 'But among the people of Marach men speak rather of the "fire", or the "fire on the hearth", from whose burning the house is warmed, and from which arise the heats of the heart, or the smokes of wrath.'
>
> 'That is another guess,' said Finrod, 'and holds also some truth, I believe.'
>
> 'Doubtless,' said Andreth. 'But those who speak thus, of the "breath" or of the "fire", do not think of it as belonging to Men only, but as the life of all living things. As Men have their houses, but beasts also have their dwellings in holes or in nests, so both have a life within that may grow cold or go forth.'
>
> 'Then in what way do Men differ from beasts in such lore?' said Finrod. 'How can they claim ever to have had a life indestructible?'
>
> 'The Wise have considered this,' said Andreth. 'And among them are

some that speak more after the manner of the Eldar. But they speak rather of three things: the *earth* and the *fire* and the *Dweller*. By which they intend the stuff of which the body is built, which of itself is inert and does not grow or move; and the life which grows and takes to itself increase; and the *Indweller* who dwells there, and is master both of house and of hearth — or once was.'

'And wishes never to leave them — and once need never do so? It was then the Indweller who suffered the wound?' said Finrod.

'Not so,' said Andreth. 'Clearly not so; but Man, the whole: house, life, and master.'

'But the Master must have been the one that was wronged (as you say), or did wrong (as I guess); for the house might suffer for the folly of the Master, but hardly the Master for the misdeeds of the house! But let that be, for you do not desire to speak of it. Do you yourself hold this belief?'

'It is not a belief,' said Andreth. 'For we do not know enough for any certainty concerning *earth* or *growth* or *thought*, and maybe never shall; for if they were designed by the One, then doubtless they will ever hold for us some mystery inscrutable, however much we learn. But it is a guess that is near, I hold.'

Here this text ends. Finally, there is another isolated slip ('C'), again taken from a document dated 1955, as follows:

Query: Is it not right to make Andreth refuse to discuss any traditions or legends of the 'Fall'? Already it is (if inevitably) too like a parody of Christianity. Any legend of the Fall would make it completely so?

Originally instead of refusal to talk of it Andreth was made (under pressure) to say something of this sort:

It is said that Melkor looked fair in ancient days, and that when he had gained Men's love he blasphemed Eru, denying his existence and claiming that he was the Lord, and Men assented and took him as Lord and God. Thereupon (say some) our spirits having denied their own true nature at once became darkened and weakened; and through this weakness they lost the mastery of their bodies, which fell into unhealth. Others say that Eru Himself spoke in wrath, saying: 'If the Darkness be your god, little shall ye have here of Light [*later* > on earth ye shall have little Light], and shall leave it soon and come before Me to learn who lieth: your god or I who made him.' And these are the most afraid of death.

This is very difficult to interpret. My father's initial question must mean (in view of the following sentences): 'It is surely right to make Andreth refuse …', implying 'as is now the case, as the text stands'. But he then proceeded to write a passage in which Andreth did not

refuse to say something of such traditions, but consented 'under pressure' (I do not know how to interpret the word 'Originally' in 'Originally instead of refusal to talk of it'); and this was evidently where the germ of what would become the 'Tale of Adanel', the legend of the Fall, first appeared. But this sketch of what Andreth said to Finrod about the Fall of Man is very close to, indeed largely the same as, what she said in the draft text A (p. 351); and that draft was itself derived from a previous writing now lost (p. 350). It seems then that that lost writing contained no account of the Fall, and it was presumably to this that my father's question referred: 'Is it not right to make Andreth refuse to discuss any traditions or legends of the "Fall"?'

The remarks with which text C begins are evidence that he was in some way concerned about these new developments, these new directions, in the underlying 'theology' of Arda, or at any rate their so explicit expression. Certainly, if one looks back to earlier writings of his, one must become aware of a significant shift. In the account written for Milton Waldman in 1951 (*Letters* no. 131, p. 147) he had said:

> The Doom (or the Gift) of Men is mortality, freedom from the circles of the world. Since the point of view of the whole cycle is the Elvish, mortality is not explained mythically: it is a mystery of God of which no more is known than that 'what God has purposed for Men is hidden': a grief and an envy to the immortal Elves ….
>
> In the cosmogony there is a fall: a fall of Angels we should say. Though quite different in form, of course, to that of Christian myth. These tales are 'new', they are not directly derived from other myths and legends, but they must inevitably contain a large measure of ancient wide-spread motives or elements. After all, I believe that legends and myths are largely made of 'truth', and indeed present aspects of it that can only be received in this mode; and long ago certain truths and modes of this kind were discovered and must always reappear. There cannot be any 'story' without a fall — all stories are ultimately about the fall — at least not for human minds as we know them and have them.
>
> So, proceeding, the Elves have a fall, before their 'history' can become storial. (The first fall of Man, for reasons explained, nowhere appears — Men do not come on the stage until all that is long past, and there is only a rumour that for a while they fell under the domination of the Enemy and that some repented.)

'The first fall of Man, *for reasons explained*, nowhere appears.' What were those reasons? My father must have been referring to the

beginning of this letter, where he wrote of the Arthurian legend that 'it is involved in, and explicitly contains the Christian religion', and went on:

> For reasons which I will not elaborate, that seems to me fatal. Myth and fairy-story must, as all art, reflect and contain in solution elements of moral and religious truth (or error), but not explicit, not in the known form of the primary 'real' world.

Some years before the time of that letter, however, in one of the curious 'Sketches' associated with *The Drowning of Anadûnê*, he had referred briefly to the original Fall of Men, and there it was accompanied by a very strange speculation on God's original design for mankind (IX.401):

> Men (the Followers or Second Kindred) came second, but it is guessed that in the first design of God they were destined (after tutelage) to take on the governance of all the Earth, and ultimately to become Valar, to 'enrich Heaven', *Ilúve*. But Evil (incarnate in Melekō) seduced them, and they fell.

A little later in the same text (IX.402) he wrote:

> Though all Men had 'fallen', not all remained enslaved. Some repented, rebelled against Melekō, and made friends of the Eldar, and tried to be loyal to God.

There is certainly a belief expressed here (whatever weight was to be attached to it — for by whom was it 'guessed'?) that the Fall introduced a change incalculably vast in the nature and destiny of Men, a change brought about by the 'Spirit of Evil', Melkor.

But in 1954 he was saying, in the draft of a long letter to Peter Hastings that was not sent (*Letters* no.153):

> … my *legendarium*, especially the 'Downfall of Númenor' which lies immediately behind *The Lord of the Rings*, is based on my view: that Men are essentially mortal and must not try to become 'immortal' in the flesh.

To this he added a footnote:

> Since 'mortality' is thus represented as a special gift of God to the Second Race of the Children (the *Eruhíni*, the Children of the One God) and not a punishment for a Fall, you may call that 'bad theology'. So it may be, in the primary world, but it is an imagination capable of elucidating truth, and a legitimate basis of legends.

And again, in another letter of 1954, to Father Robert Murray (*Letters* no. 156, footnote to p. 205) he wrote:

> But the view of the myth [of the Downfall of Númenor] is that Death — the mere shortness of human life-span — is not a punishment for the Fall, but a biologically (and therefore also spiritually, since body and

spirit are integrated) inherent part of Man's nature.

It seems to me therefore that there are problems in the *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth* for the interpretation of my father's thought on these matters; but I am unable to resolve them. It is unfortunate that the questionings with which this slip of paper begins are so elliptically expressed, especially the words 'Already it is (if inevitably) too like a parody of Christianity.' Obviously, he was not referring to the legend of the Fall: he was saying clearly that the introduction of such a legend would make 'it' — presumably, the *Athrabeth* — altogether into 'a parody of Christianity'.

Was he referring then to the astonishing conception in the *Athrabeth* of 'the Great Hope of Men', as it is called in the draft A (p. 352), 'the Old Hope' as it is called in the final text (p. 321), that Eru himself will enter into Arda to oppose the evil of Melkor? In the Commentary (p. 335) this was further defined: 'Finrod … probably proceeded to the expectation that "the coming of Eru", if it took place, would be specially and primarily concerned with Men: that is to an imaginative guess or vision that Eru would come *incarnated in human form*' — though my father noted that 'This does not appear in the *Athrabeth*'. But this surely is not parody, nor even parallel, but the extension — if only represented as vision, hope, or prophecy — of the 'theology' of Arda into specifically, and of course centrally, Christian belief; and a manifest challenge to my father's view in his letter of 1951 on the necessary limitations of the expression of 'moral and religious truth (or error)' in a 'Secondary World'.

NOTES

1Cf. my father's draft letter of September 1954 (*Letters* no.153, p. 189): 'Elves and Men are evidently in biological terms one race, or they could not breed and produce fertile offspring — even as a rare event', and the following passage.

2According to the chronology of the *Annals of Aman* the Elves awoke in the Year of the Trees 1050 (p. 71, §37), 450 of such Years before the rising of the Sun, or something more than 4300 years of our time (for the reckoning see p. 59); see p. 327 note 16.

3*demiurgic labour*: the creative work of 'demiurges', in the sense of mighty but limited beings subordinate to God.

4On Melkor as ‘originally the most powerful of the Valar’ see p. 65, §2. There are a number of references in the late writings to the supremacy of Melkor’s power in the beginning, but see especially the essay *Melkor Morgoth* given on pp. 390 ff. It is curious that in his letter to Rhona Beare of October 1958 (*Letters* no.211) my father wrote: ‘In the cosmogonic myth Manwë is said to be “brother” of Melkor, that is they were coëval and equipotent in the mind of the Creator.’

5Cf. Finrod’s words in the *Athrabeth*, p. 319: ‘Beyond the End of the World we shall not change; for in memory is our great talent, as shall be seen ever more clearly as the ages of this Arda pass: a heavy burden to be, I fear; but in the Days of which we now speak a great wealth.’

6The reference is to the Virgin Mary. See the footnote *(Letters* p. 286) to the draft continuation of the letter referred to in note 4.

7This analysis does not adhere strictly to the actual course of the *Athrabeth*, and (as is expressly stated, p. 335) was not intended to do so. Thus it was in fact Finrod who said that ‘the disaster to Men was appalling’ (‘dreadful beyond all other calamities was the change in their state’, p. 318); and his recognition that ‘the power of Melkor was greater than had been understood’ comes much earlier in the debate (‘to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru’s despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed’, p. 312).

8‘Aegnor perished soon after this conversation’: in fact, 46 years later (see note 9).

9In the *Grey Annals* (and in the published *Silmarillion*) Finrod is clearly represented as ruling his great realm from the stronghold of Nargothrond (founded centuries before) during the Siege of Angband, and at the Battle of Sudden Flame he is said to have been ‘hastening from the south’ (*The Silmarillion* p. 152). At the end of the *Athrabeth*, on the other hand, he tells Andreth that he is leaving for the North, ‘to the swords, and the siege, and the walls of defence’ (p. 325), and in the present passage it is said that he and his brothers and the People of Bëor dwelt in ‘the northern realm’ and that when the Siege was broken he ‘took refuge’ in Nargothrond.

The last sentence of the paragraph ‘But she would then be a very old woman’ was a late addition. Against it my father

pencilled ‘about 94’; cf. the footnote to the opening sentence of the *Athrabeth*, p. 307: Andreth was 48 years old at the time of the conversation with Finrod, stated to have taken place about the year 409, and thus ‘about 94’ in 455, the year of the Battle of Sudden Flame.

10In the *Ainulindalë* (p. 11, §13) it was expressly stated that the Children of Ilúvatar ‘*came with the Third Theme*, and were not in the theme which Ilúvatar propounded at the beginning’. Of the Second Theme it is said in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §24) that ‘Manwë … was the chief instrument of the Second Theme that Ilúvatar had raised up against the discord of Melkor.’

It is perhaps possible that by ‘the two new themes’ in the present passage my father was thinking of the introduction of Elves and Men into the Music as allied ‘themes’ that in the *Ainulindalë* were described as ‘the Third Theme’, but it seems to me more probable that a different conception of the Music had entered. In this connection, in a passage in the final rewriting and elaboration of QS Chapter 6 (p. 275, §50) it is told that Melkor spoke secretly to the Eldar in Aman concerning Men, although he knew little about them, ‘for engrossed with his own thought in the Music he had paid small heed to the Second Theme of Ilúvatar’. If this was not simply an inadvertence, it might support the view that the Second and Third Themes had become those that introduced Elves and Men — although it would surely be in the Second Theme that the Elves entered, and Men in the Third. It may be noted also that in the draft continuation of the letter to Rhona Beare of October 1958 (*Letters* no.212), to which I have several times referred, my father wrote: ‘Their “themes” were introduced into the Music by the One, when the discords of Melkor arose’; and there is a further reference to ‘the Themes of the Children’ in Author’s Note 7 (p. 342).

11Against the opening sentences of Note 2 is written in the margin: ‘*Arda* means Realm’. With the statement here that ‘Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System’, and in the third paragraph of this Note that ‘the principal part of Arda was the Earth (*Imbar* “The Habitation”)’, though ‘loosely used Arda often seems to mean the Earth’, cf. the list of names associated with the revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* in 1951 (p. 7): ‘*Arda* Elvish name of Earth = our world. Also *Kingdom*

of Arda = fenced region'. The statements in this Note imply of course a radical transformation of the cosmological myth, a recrudescence of the abandoned ideas seen in the *Ainulindalë* text C* of the later 1940s (pp. 3–6, 43). Much further writing on this subject will be found in texts given in Part Five (see especially Texts I and II, pp. 370, 375 ff.).

12 The term *Imbar* has not occurred before; but cf. *Ambar* 'the Earth' (IV.235 ff., and the *Etymologies*, V.372, 'Quenya *a-mbar* "oikoumenē", Earth'; also *Ambar-metta* 'the ending of the world' in Aragorn's words at his coronation, *The Return of the King* p. 245).

13 'the principal demiurgic Ainur … had taken up their "residence" in Arda': cf. the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §21): 'Thus it came to pass that of the Holy Ones some abode still with Ilúvatar beyond the confines of the World; but others, and among them many of the greatest and most fair, took the leave of Ilúvatar and descended into it.' — On the word 'demiurgic' see note 3 above.

14 *erma:* in the typescript B of *Laws and Customs* appears the word *orma*, a later pencilled alteration of the word *hrón* ('the general *hrón* [> *orma*] of Arda'), p. 218.

15 This is a reference to a conception not yet met: see the Appendix to this Part, pp. 361 ff.

16 The possibility of return to incarnate life through childbirth is no longer countenanced: see note 15.

17 'Normally they must nonetheless remain in Aman': the reasons for this are explained later in this Note. See further pp. 364–5.

18 Lúthien was not the ancestress of Eärendil, son of Tuor and Idril Celebrindal of Gondolin; she was the grandmother of Elwing, wife of Eärendil.

19 'The myth that appears at the end of the *Silmarillion*': in so far as the reference is to any actual written text, this is the conclusion of QS (V.333, §§31–2), the Prophecy of Mandos.

20 Cf. *Laws and Customs* (typescript text B, p. 219):

> As ages passed the dominance of their *fëar* ever increased, 'consuming' their bodies … The end of this process is their 'fading' …; for the body becomes at last, as it were, a mere memory held by the *fëa*; and that end has already been achieved in many regions of Middle-earth, so that the Elves are indeed deathless and may not be destroyed or changed.

21 'before and above all Eru's works'; i.e. 'before and above the

works of Eru, of whatever kind'.

22For previous references to the People of Marach see pp. 305–6, 309, 344.

23Another version of Note 9 is extant, the opening of which reads thus:

> It is probable that Andreth was actually unwilling to say more. She may also have felt unable to make up her mind about the conflicting human traditions on the point. Longer recensions of the *Athrabeth*, which appear to have been 'edited' under Númenórean influence (the Númenóreans were mainly derived from the People of Marach, who had more specific traditions concerning what we should call the Fall), make her give, under pressure, a more precise answer. Briefly this:
>
> > Some say the disaster happened very early in the history of our people; some say in the first generation. The Voice of the One had spoken to us, some say by a Messenger, some by a Voice only, some that it was by a knowledge in our hearts which we had from the beginning. But we were few and the world seemed very wide; and we wondered much at all that we saw, but we were ignorant, and yet desired greatly to know, and we were in haste to make things, the shapes of which grew in our minds.
> >
> > Then one came among us, in our own shape, but greater and more beautiful …

From this point the text differs from the 'Tale of Adanel' (p. 346) only in very minor details of wording; but it stops (not at the foot of a page) at the words 'we would hear his voice, and receive his commands' (the 'Tale of Adanel' p. 347).

This first version was rejected and set aside, and at some later stage my father noted on the typescript: 'The rest of the notes and the conclusion of the legend of Melkor's Deception seems lost. The full copy was sent to Mrs. E. J. Neave (my aunt) in Wales not long before her death. It seems never to have come back. Lost — or destroyed by her hasty executors?' Then afterwards he noted against this that the complete text of the Notes and the legend (the 'Tale of Adanel') had been found. The keeping of his papers in separate places for fear of loss led to such distresses in his later years. — Jane Neave died in 1963; see the *Note on Dating*, p. 300.

24With the names *Lindar* ‘Singers’ of the Teleri and *Tareldar* ‘High-elves’ cf. the Index to *The Silmarillion*, entries *Teleri*, *Eldar*.

25It is notable that the old form *Melko* is given here as an alternative form.

26See p. 101 note 2.

27*melk-:* this stem was first written with two vowels, perhaps *melek-*, but the second vowel seems to have been inked out.

28*Saelon:* replaced by *Saelind* (‘Wise-heart’), p. 305.

29Cf. the words of the Voice of Eru in the ‘Tale of Adanel’, p. 347.

30The meaning is: ‘though we speak in uncertainty of what it is that “indwells”’.

31Cf. the footnote at the end of *Laws and Customs*, p. 250.

APPENDIX

‘The Converse of Manwë and Eru’ and later conceptions of Elvish reincarnation

The statement at the beginning of Note 3 (p. 339) that ‘in Elvish tradition their re-incarnation was a special permission granted by Eru to Manwë, when Manwë directly consulted Him at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel’ seems very strange in the light of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar*, where it was stated very explicitly (p. 221) that ‘A houseless *fëa* that chose or was permitted to return to life *re-entered the incarnate world through child-birth. Only thus could it return*’ (to which such ‘a rare and strange case’ as that of Míriel, who was ‘rehoused in her own body’, is noted as the only exception). In *Laws and Customs* it is a presupposition of the whole matter that Míriel might in the nature of things return from death if she would; thus Ulmo said in the Debate of the Valar that ‘the *fëa* of Míriel may have departed by necessity, but it departed *in the will not to return’,* and that ‘*therein was her fault’* (p. 242). It cannot be thought that *Laws and Customs* was written on the basis that rebirth was only ‘granted as a special permission’ by Eru to Manwë ‘at the time of the debate concerning Finwë and Míriel’, an idea of which there is no hint or suggestion in that work.

The explanation of this is that after the writing of *Laws and Customs* my father’s views concerning the fate of Elves who had died underwent a radical change, and the passage cited from Note 3 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* does not in fact refer to ‘rebirth’ at all.

There exists a text entitled *The Converse of Manwë and Eru*, which followed *Laws and Customs* but preceded the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*. This work (in typescript) was planned as twofold, the first part being the questions of Manwë and the replies of Eru, and the second an elaborate philosophical discussion of the significance and implications; but it was abandoned before it was finished, and a second, more ample version of the 'Converse' was given up after only a couple of pages. I give the first part, the 'Converse', only, in the original shorter recension.

Manwë spoke to Eru, saying: 'Behold! an evil appears in Arda that we did not look for: the First-born Children, whom Thou madest immortal, suffer now severance of spirit and body. Many of the *fëar* of the Elves in Middle-earth are now houseless; and even in Aman there is one. The houseless we summon to Aman, to keep them from the Darkness, and all who hear our voice abide here in waiting. What further is to be done? Is there no means by which their lives may be renewed, to follow the courses which Thou hast designed? And what of the bereaved who mourn those that have gone?'

Eru answered: 'Let the houseless be re-housed!'

Manwë asked: 'How shall this be done?'

Eru answered: 'Let the body that was destroyed be re-made. Or let the naked *fëa* be re-born as a child.'

Manwë said: 'Is it Thy will that we should attempt these things? For we fear to meddle with Thy Children.'

Eru answered: 'Have I not given to the Valar the rule of Arda, and power over all the substance thereof, to shape it at their will under My will? Ye have not been backward in these things. As for my First-born, have ye not removed great numbers of them to Aman from the Middle-earth in which I set them?'

Manwë answered: 'This we have done, for fear of Melcor, and with good intent, though not without misgiving. But to use our power upon the flesh that Thou hast designed, to house the spirits of Thy Children, this seems a matter beyond our authority, even were it not beyond our skill.'

Eru said: 'I give you authority. The skill ye have already, if ye will take heed. Look and ye will find that each spirit of My Children retaineth in itself the full imprint and memory of its former house; and in its nakedness it is open to you, so that ye may clearly perceive all that is in it. After this imprint ye may make for it again

such a house in all particulars as it had ere evil befell it. Thus ye may send it back to the lands of the Living.'

Then Manwë asked further: 'O Ilúvatar, hast Thou not spoken also of re-birth? Is that too within our power and authority?'

Eru answered: 'It shall be within your authority, but it is not in your power. Those whom ye judge fit to be re-born, if they desire it and understand clearly what they incur, ye shall surrender to Me; and I will consider them.'

It will be seen that wholly new dimensions to the question of the return of the Dead to the Living had now entered. My father had come to think that before the death of Míriel there had never been any 're-housing' of the *fëar* of the Dead, and that it was only in response to the appeal of Manwë that Eru decreed such a possibility and the modes by which it might be brought about. One such mode is the rebirth of the *fëa* as a child, but such of the Dead as desire it are to be surrendered to Eru to await His judgement in their case. The other mode is the making, by the Valar, of 'such a house in all particulars as it had ere evil befell it': the reincarnation of the Dead in a *hröa* identical to that which death had overtaken. The long discussion that follows the 'Converse' is very largely concerned with the ideas of 'identity' and 'equivalence' in relation to this form of reincarnation, represented as a commentary by Eldarin loremasters.

A hastily written manuscript on small slips of paper, entitled 'Reincarnation of Elves', seems to show my father's reflections on the subject between the abandonment of *The Converse of Manwë and Eru* and the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*. In this discussion he referred in rapid and elliptical expression to the difficulties at every level (including practical and psychological) in the idea of the reincarnation of the *fëa* as the newborn child of second parents, who as it grows up recaptures the memory of its previous life: 'the most fatal objection' being that 'it contradicts the fundamental notion that *fëa* and *hröa* were each *fitted* to the other: since *hröar* have a physical descent, the body of rebirth, having different parents, must be different', and this must be a condition of pain to the reborn *fëa*.

He was here abandoning, and for good, the long-rooted conception (see pp. 265–7) of rebirth as the mode by which the Elves might return to incarnate life: from his scrutiny of the mythical idea, questioning its validity in the terms he had adopted,

it had come to seem to him a serious flaw in the metaphysic of Elvish existence. But, he said, it was a 'dilemma', for the reincarnation of the Elves 'seems an essential element in the tales'. 'The only solution,' he decided in this discussion, was the idea of the remaking in identical form of the *hröa* of the Dead in the manner declared by Eru in *The Converse of Manwë and Eru:* the *fëa* retains a memory, an imprint, of its *hröa*, its 'former house', so powerful and precise that the reconstruction of an identical body can proceed from it.

The idea of a 'Converse' between Manwë and Eru was not abandoned, and is indeed referred to in 'Reincarnation of Elves' (but the 'Converse' as given above must have been in existence, since in it Eru expressly declares rebirth to be a mode of reincarnation open to the 'houseless' *fëa,* whereas in the present discussion such an idea is firmly rejected and allowed no place in 'the only solution' to the 'dilemma'). The new conception proceeds, in outline, as follows. The Music of the Ainur had contained no prevision of the death of Elves and the existence of their 'houseless' *fëar,* since according to their nature they were to be immortal within the life of Arda. There were many such *fëar* of Elves who had died in Middle-earth gathered in the Halls of Mandos, but it was not until the death of Míriel in Aman that Manwë appealed directly to Eru for counsel. Eru 'accepted and ratified the position' — though making it plain to Manwë that the Valar should have contested Melkor's domination of Middle-earth far earlier, and that they had lacked *estel:* they should have trusted that in a legitimate war Eru would not have permitted Melkor so greatly to damage Arda that the Children could not come, or could not inhabit it (cf. LQ §20, p. 161: 'And Manwë said to the Valar: "This is the counsel of Ilúvatar in my heart: that we should take up again the mastery of Arda, at whatsoever cost, and deliver the Quendi from the shadows of Melkor." Then Tulkas was glad; but Aulë was grieved, and it is said that he (and others of the Valar) had before been unwilling to strive with Melkor, foreboding the hurts of the world that must come of that strife').

It is then said that 'the *fëar* of the Dead all go to Mandos in Aman: or rather they are now summoned thither by the authority given by Eru. A place is made for them.' This appears to mean that it was only now that Mandos was empowered to summon the spirits of the Dead to Aman; but the following words 'A place is made for

them' are hard to understand, since they seem to deny even that the Halls of Waiting existed before Manwë spoke to Eru (despite the statement earlier in 'Reincarnation of Elves' that there were many houseless *fëar* gathered in Mandos before the 'Converse' took place).

The Valar are now given the authority to reincarnate the *fëar* of Elves who have died in *hröar* identical to those they have lost; and the text continues: 'The re-housed *fëa* will normally remain in Aman. Only in very exceptional cases, as Beren and Lúthien, will they be transported back to Middle-earth. … Hence death in Middle-earth had much of the same sort of sorrow and sunderance for Elves and Men. But, as Andreth saw, the certainty of living again and *doing* things in incarnate form made a vital difference to death as a personal terror' (cf. the *Athrabeth* p. 311).

In what appears to be a second thought my father then asked whether it might not be possible that the 'houseless' *fëa* was itself allowed (being instructed) to rebuild its *hröa* from its memory (and this, as appears from very late writing on the subject of the reincarnation of Glorfindel of Gondolin, became his firm and stable view of the matter). He wrote here: 'Memory by a *fëa* of experience is evidently powerful, vivid, and complete. So the underlying suggestion is that "matter" will be taken up into "spirit", by becoming part of its *knowledge* — and so rendered timeless and under the spirit's command. As the Elves remaining in Middle-earth slowly "consumed" their bodies — or made them into raiments of memory? The resurrection of the body (at least as far as Elves were concerned) was in a sense incorporeal. But while it could pass physical barriers at will, it could at will oppose a barrier to matter. If you touched a resurrected body you felt it. Or if it willed it could simply elude you — disappear. Its position in space was at will.'

Neither in the passage on the subject of reincarnation in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 331, §6) nor in the Note 3 that refers to it (p. 339) is there any mention of rebirth; while the latter very evidently echoes the words of 'Resurrection of Elves'. Thus it is strongly implied in Note 3, if not expressly stated, that it was only at the time of Manwë's speech with Eru that Mandos was given the power actually to summon the *fëar* of the Dead; and the passage that follows this in the Note is closely similar to what is said in 'Resurrection of Elves':

> They were given the choice to remain houseless, or (if they wished) to be re-housed in the same form and shape as they had had. Normally

> they must nonetheless remain in Aman. Therefore, if they dwelt in Middle-earth, their bereavement of friends and kin, and the bereavement of these, was not amended. Death was not wholly healed. But as Andreth saw, this certitude concerning their immediate future after death, and the knowledge that at the least they would again if they wished be able as *incarnates* to do and make things and continue their experience of Arda, made death to the Elves a totally different thing from death as it appeared to Men.

An interesting point in respect of the chronology of composition arises from the remark found both in 'Reincarnation of Elves' and in Note 3 to the Commentary that death for Elves and death for Men were very different things 'as Andreth saw'. Thus the *Athrabeth* was in existence when 'Reincarnation of Elves' was written; but the Commentary followed 'Reincarnation'. This seems clear evidence that there was an interval between the writing of the actual Debate of Finrod and Andreth and the writing of the Commentary on it.

One further passage in 'Reincarnation of Elves' should be mentioned. In a sort of aside from the course of his thoughts, moving more rapidly (even) than his pen, my father remarked that 'the exact nature of existence in Aman or Eressëa after their "removal" must be dubious and unexplained', as must the question of 'how "mortals" could go there at all'. On this he observed that Eru had 'long before' committed the Dead of mortals also to Mandos; cf. QS §86 (V.247): 'What befell their spirits after death the Elves know not. Some say that they too go to the halls of Mandos; but their place of waiting there is not that of the Elves; and Mandos under Ilúvatar alone save Manwë knows whither they go after the time of recollection in those silent halls beside the Western Sea.' 'The sojourn of Frodo' (he went on) 'in Eressëa — then on to Mandos? — was only an extended form of this. Frodo would eventually leave the world (desiring to do so). So that the sailing in ship was equivalent to death.'

With this may be contrasted what he wrote at the end of his account of *The Lord of the Rings* in his letter to Milton Waldman of 1951 (a passage omitted in *Letters* but printed in IX. 132):

> To Bilbo and Frodo the special grace is granted to go with the Elves they loved — an Arthurian ending, in which it is, of course, not made explicit whether this is an 'allegory' of death, or a mode of healing and restoration leading to a return.

In his letter to Naomi Mitchison of September 1954 (*Letters* no.154),

however, he said:

> … the mythical idea underlying is that for mortals, since their 'kind' cannot be changed for ever, this is strictly only a temporary reward: a healing and redress of suffering. They cannot abide for ever, and though they cannot return to mortal earth, they can and will 'die' — of free will, and leave the world. (In this setting the return of Arthur would be quite impossible, a vain imagining.)

And much later, in a draft letter of 1963 (*Letters* no.246), he wrote:

> Frodo was sent or allowed to pass over Sea to heal him — if that could be done, *before he died*. He would have eventually to 'pass away': no mortal could, or can, abide for ever on earth, or within Time. So he went both to a purgatory and to a reward, for a while: a period of reflection and peace and a gaining of a truer understanding of his position in littleness and in greatness, spent still in Time amid the natural beauty of 'Arda Unmarred', the Earth unspoiled by evil.

PART FIVE

MYTHS TRANSFORMED

MYTHS TRANSFORMED

In this last section of the book I give a number of late writings of my father's, various in nature but concerned with, broadly speaking, the reinterpretation of central elements in the 'mythology' (or *legendarium* as he called it) to accord with the imperatives of a greatly modified underlying conception. Some of these papers (there are notable exceptions) offer exceptional difficulty: fluidity of ideas, ambiguous and allusive expression, illegible passages. But the greatest problem is that there is very little firm indication of date external or relative: to order them into even an approximate sequence of composition seems impossible (though I believe that virtually all of them come from the years that saw the writing of *Laws and Customs among the Eldar,* the *Athrabeth*, and late revisions of parts of the *Quenta Silmarillion* — the late 1950s, in the aftermath of the publication of *The Lord of the Rings*).

In these writings can be read the record of a prolonged interior debate. Years before this time, the first signs have been seen of emerging ideas that if pursued would cause massive disturbance in *The Silmarillion:* I have shown, as I believe, that when my father first began to revise and rewrite the existing narratives of the Elder Days, before *The Lord of the Rings* was completed, he wrote a version of the *Ainulindalë* that introduced a radical transformation of the astronomical myth, but that for that time he stayed his hand (pp. 3–6, 43). But now, as will be seen in many of the essays and notes that follow, he had come to believe that such a vast upheaval was a necessity, that the cosmos of the old myth was no longer valid; and at the same time he was impelled to try to construct a more secure 'theoretical' or 'systematic' basis for elements in the *legendarium* that were not to be dislodged. With their questionings, their certainties giving way to doubt, their contradictory resolutions, these writings are to be read with a sense of intellectual and imaginative stress in the face of such a dismantling and reconstitution, believed to be an inescapable necessity, but never to

be achieved.

The texts, arranged in a very loose 'thematic' sequence, are numbered in Roman numerals. Almost all have received very minor editing (matters of punctuation, insertion of omitted words, and suchlike). Numbered notes (not present in all cases) follow the individual texts.

I

I give first a short statement written on two slips found pinned to one of the typescripts of the *Annals of Aman*, which would date it to 1958 or later (if my general conclusions about dating are correct, p. 300).

This descends from the oldest forms of the mythology — when it was still intended to be no more than another primitive mythology, though more coherent and less 'savage'. It was consequently a 'Flat Earth' cosmogony (much easier to manage anyway): the Matter of Númenor had not been devised.

It is now clear to me that in any case the Mythology must actually be a 'Mannish' affair. (Men are really only interested in Men and in Men's ideas and visions.) The High Eldar living and being tutored by the demiurgic beings must have known, or at least their writers and loremasters must have known, the 'truth' (according to their measure of understanding). What we have in the *Silmarillion* etc. are traditions (especially personalized, and centred upon *actors*, such as Fëanor) handed on by *Men* in Númenor and later in Middle-earth (Arnor and Gondor); but already far back — from the first association of the Dúnedain and Elf-friends with the Eldar in Beleriand — blended and confused with their own Mannish myths and cosmic ideas.

At that point (in reconsideration of the early cosmogonic parts) I was inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth and the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon. But you can make up stories of that kind when you live among people who have the same general background of imagination, when the Sun 'really' rises in the East and goes down in the West, etc. When however (no matter how little most people know or think about astronomy) it is the general belief that we live upon a 'spherical' island in 'Space' you cannot do this any more.

One loses, of course, the dramatic impact of such things as the first 'incarnates' waking in a starlit world — or the coming of the High Elves to Middle-earth and unfurling their banners at the *first* rising of the Moon.

I have given this first, because — though jotted down at great speed — it is an express statement of my father's views at this time, in three major respects. The astronomical myths of the Elder Days cannot be regarded as a record of the traditional beliefs of the Eldar in any pure form, because the High-elves of Aman cannot have been thus ignorant; and the cosmological elements in *The Silmarillion* are essentially a record of mythological ideas, complex in origin, prevailing among Men.[1] In this note, however, my father appears to have accepted that these ideas do not in themselves necessarily lead to great upheaval in the essential 'world-structure' of *The Silmarillion*, but on the contrary provide a basis for its retention ('At that point … I was inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth'). The conclusion of this brief statement appears then to be a further and unconnected step: that the cosmological myth of *The Silmarillion* was a 'creative error' on the part of its maker, since it could have no imaginative truth for people who know very well that such an 'astronomy' is delusory.

As he stated it, this may seem to be an argument of the most doubtful nature, raising indeed the question, why is the myth of the Two Trees (which so far as record goes he never showed any intention to abandon) more acceptable than that of the creation of the Sun and the Moon from the last fruit and flower of the Trees as they died? Or indeed, if this is true, how can it be acceptable that the Evening Star is the Silmaril cut by Beren from Morgoth's crown?

It is at any rate clear, for he stated it unambiguously enough, that he had come to believe that the art of the 'Sub-creator' cannot, or should not attempt to, extend to the 'mythical' revelation of a conception of the shape of the Earth and the origin of the lights of heaven that runs counter to the known physical truths of his own days: 'You cannot do this any more'. And this opinion is rendered more complex and difficult of discussion by the rise in importance of the Eldarin 'loremasters' of Aman, whose intellectual attainments and knowledge must preclude any idea that a 'false' astronomy could have prevailed among them. It seems to me that he was devising — from within it — a fearful weapon against his own creation.

In this brief text he wrote scornfully of 'the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon'. I think it possible that it was the actual nature of this myth that led him finally to abandon it. It is in conception beautiful, and not absurd; but it is exceedingly 'primitive'. Of the original 'Tale of the Sun and Moon' in *The Book of Lost Tales* I wrote (I.201):

> As a result of this fullness and intensity of description, the origin of the Sun and Moon in the last fruit and last flower of the Trees has less of mystery than in the succinct and beautiful language of *The Silmarillion*; but also much is said here to emphasize the great size of the 'Fruit of Noon', and the increase in the heat and brilliance of the Sunship after its launching, so that the reflection rises less readily that if the Sun that brilliantly illumines the whole Earth was but one fruit of Laurelin then Valinor must have been painfully bright and hot in the days of the Trees. In the early story the last outpourings of life from the dying Trees are utterly strange and 'enormous', those of Laurelin portentous, even ominous; the Sun is astoundingly bright and hot even to the Valar, who are awestruck and disquieted by what has been done (the Gods knew 'that they had done a greater thing than they at first knew'); and the anger and distress of certain of the Valar at the burning light of the Sun enforces the feeling that in the last fruit of Laurelin a terrible and unforeseen power has been released.

As the *Quenta Silmarillion* evolved and changed the myth had been diminished in the scale and energy of its presentation; indeed in the final form of the chapter, and in the *Annals of Aman*, the description of the actual origin of the Sun and Moon is reduced to a few lines.

> Yet even as hope failed and her song faltered, behold! Telperion bore at last upon a leafless bough one great flower of silver, and Laurelin a single fruit of gold.
>
> These Yavanna took, and then the Trees died, and their lifeless stems stand yet in Valinor, a memorial of vanished joy. But the flower and fruit Yavanna gave to Aulë, and Manwë hallowed them; and Aulë and his folk made vessels to hold them and preserve their radiance, as is said in the *Narsilion*, the Song of the Sun and Moon. These vessels the gods gave to Varda, that they might become lamps of heaven, outshining the ancient stars …

The grave and tranquil words cannot entirely suppress a sense that there emerges here an outcropping, as it were, uneroded, from an older level, more fantastic, more bizarre. As indeed it does: such was the nature of the work, evolved over so many years. But it did not stand in the work as an isolated myth, a now gratuitous element that could be excised; for bound up with it was the myth of the Two Trees ('the Elder Sun and Moon'), giving light through long ages to

the land of Valinor, while Middle-earth lay in darkness, illumined only by the stars in the firmament of Arda. In that darkness the Elves awoke, the People of the Stars; and after the death of the Trees the ancient Light was preserved only in the Silmarils. In 1951 my father had written (*Letters* no. 131, p. 148):

> There was the Light of Valinor made visible in the Two Trees of Silver and Gold. These were slain by the Enemy out of malice, and Valinor was darkened, though from them, ere they died utterly, were derived the lights of Sun and Moon. (A marked difference here between these legends and most others is that the Sun is not a divine symbol, but a second-best thing, and the 'light of the Sun' (the world under the sun) become terms for a fallen world, and a dislocated imperfect vision.)

But: 'You cannot do this any more.' In the following pages will be seen how, driven by this conviction, he attempted to undo what he had done, but to retain what he might. It is remarkable that he never at this time seems to have felt that what he said in this present note provided a resolution of the problem that he believed to exist:

> What we have in the *Silmarillion* etc. are traditions … handed on by *Men* in Númenor and later in Middle-earth (Arnor and Gondor); but already far back — from the first association of the Dúnedain and Elf-friends with the Eldar in Beleriand — *blended and confused with their own Mannish myths and cosmic ideas.*

It is tempting to suppose that when my father wrote that 'in reconsideration of the early cosmogonic parts' he was 'inclined to adhere to the Flat Earth and the astronomically absurd business of the making of the Sun and Moon', he was referring to *Ainulindalë C* and the *Annals of Aman.* If this were so, it might account for the developments in *Ainulindalë* C discussed on pp. 27–9, where Arda becomes a small world within the vastness of Eä — but retains the 'Flat Earth' characteristics of Ilu from the *Ambarkanta* and before.

In connection with my father's statement that the legends of *The Silmarillion* were traditions handed on by Men in Númenor and later in the Númenórean kingdoms in Middle-earth, this is a convenient place to give an entirely isolated note carefully typed (but not on his later typewriter) on a small slip and headed 'Memorandum'.

The three Great Tales must be Númenórean, and derived from matter preserved in Gondor. They were part of the *Atanatárion* (or the Legendarium of the Fathers of Men). ?Sindarin *Nern in Edenedair* (or *In Adanath*).

They are (1) *Narn Beren ion Barahir* also called *Narn e·Dinúviel* (Tale of the Nightingale)

(2). *Narn e·mbar Hador* containing (a) *Narn i-Chîn Húrin* (or *Narn e·'Rach Morgoth* Tale of the Curse of Morgoth); and (b) *Narn en-Êl* (or *Narn e·Dant Gondolin ar Orthad en·Êl*)

Should not these be given as Appendices to the *Silmarillion*?

In the question with which this ends my father was presumably distinguishing between long and short forms of the tales. — Two further notes on this slip, typed at the same time as the above, refer to 'the Tale of Túrin' and suggest that he was working on it at that time.[2] I do not know of any precise evidence to date the great development of the 'Túrin Saga', but it certainly belongs to an earlier period than the writings given in the latter part of this book.

The idea that the legends of the Elder Days derived from Númenórean tradition appears also in the abandoned typescript (AAm*) of the *Annals of Aman* that my father made himself (p. 64).[3] In this text the preamble states:

> Here begin the 'Annals of Aman'. Rúmil made them in the Elder Days, and they were held in memory by the Exiles. Those parts which we learned and remembered were thus set down in Númenor before the Shadow fell upon it.

NOTES

1 Very similar remarks are made in Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337):

> Physically Arda was what we should call the Solar System. Presumably the Eldar could have had as much and as accurate information concerning this, its structure, origin, and its relation to the rest of Eä as they could comprehend.

A little further on in this same Note it is said:

> The traditions here referred to have come down from the Eldar of the First Age, through Elves who never were directly acquainted with the Valar, and through Men who received 'lore' from the Elves, but who had myths and cosmogonic legends, and astronomical guesses, of their own. *There is, however, nothing in them that seriously conflicts with present human notions of the Solar System, and its size and position relative to the Universe.*

The sentence which I have italicised suggests an assured

commitment, at the least, to the re-formation of the old cosmology. — For references in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* to the Númenórean part in the transmission of legends of the Elder Days see pp. 342, 344, 360.

2These are a proposal that Níniel (Nienor) should 'in her looks and ways' remind Túrin of Lalaeth, his sister who died in childhood (see *Unfinished Tales* p. 147 note 7), and another, marked with a query, that Túrin should think of the words of Saeros, the Elf of Doriath, when he finds Níniel naked in the eaves of the Forest of Brethil (*Unfinished Tales* pp. 80, 122).

On the back of this slip my father wrote (in a furious scribble in ball-point pen):

> The cosmogonic myths are Númenórean, blending Elven-lore with human myth and imagination. A note should say that the Wise of Númenor recorded that the making of stars was not so, nor of Sun and Moon. For Sun and stars were all older than Arda. But the placing of Arda amidst stars and under the [?guard] of the Sun was due to Manwë and Varda before the assault of Melkor.

I take the words 'the Wise of Númenor recorded that the making of stars was not so, nor of Sun and Moon' to mean that the making of the Sun, Moon and stars was not derived from 'Elven-lore'. It is to be noted that *Arda* here means 'the Earth', not 'the Solar System'.

3I have said (p. 64) that I would be inclined to place AAm* with the writing of the original manuscript of the *Annals* rather than to some later time, but this is no more than a guess.

II

This is a text of a most problematic nature, a manuscript in ink that falls into two parts which are plainly very closely associated: a discussion, with proposals for the 'regeneration' of the mythology; and an abandoned narrative. Neither has title or heading.

The Making of the Sun and Moon *must* occur long before the coming of the Elves; and *cannot* be made to be after the death of the Two Trees — if that occurred in any connexion with the sojourn of the Noldor in Valinor. The time allowed is too short. Neither could there be woods and flowers &c. on earth, if there had been no light since the overthrow of the Lamps![1]

But how can, nonetheless, the Eldar be called the 'Star-folk'?

Since the Eldar are supposed to be wiser and have truer knowledge of the history and nature of the Earth than Men (or than Wild Elves), *their* legends should have a closer relation to the knowledge now possessed of at least the *form* of the Solar System (= Kingdom of Arda);[2] though it need not, of course, follow any 'scientific' theory of its making or development.

It therefore seems clear that the cosmogonic mythology should represent Arda as it is, more or less: an island in the void 'amidst the innumerable stars'. The Sun should be coeval with Earth, though its relative size need not be considered, while the apparent revolution of the Sun about the Earth will be accepted.*

The Stars, therefore, in general will be other and remoter parts of the Great Tale of Eä, which do not concern the Valar of Arda. Though, even if not explicitly, it will be an underlying assumption that the Kingdom of Arda is of *central* importance, selected amid all the immeasurable vast of Eä as the scene for the main drama of the conflict of Melkor with Ilúvatar, and the Children of Eru. Melkor is the *supreme* spirit of Pride and Revolt, *not* just the chief Vala of the Earth, who has turned to evil.[3]

Varda, therefore, as one of the great Valar of Arda, cannot be said to have 'kindled' the stars, as an original subcreative act — not at least the stars in general.[4]

The Story, it seems, should follow such a line as this. The entry of the Valar into Eä at the beginning of Time. The choosing of the Kingdom of Arda as their chief abiding place (? by the highest and noblest of the Ainur,[5] to whom Ilúvatar had intended to commit the care of the *Eruhíni*). Manwë and his companions elude Melkor and begin the ordering of Arda, but Melkor seeks for them and at last finds Arda,[6] and contests the kingship with Manwë.

This period will, roughly, correspond to supposed primeval epochs before Earth became habitable. A time of fire and cataclysm. Melkor disarrayed the Sun so that at periods it was too hot, and at others too cold. Whether this was due to the state of the Sun, or alterations in the orbit of Earth, need not be made precise: both are possible.

But after a battle Melkor is driven out from Earth itself. (The First Battle?) He finds he can only come there in great secrecy. At this time he begins first to turn most to cold and darkness. His first desire (and weapon) had been fire and heat. It was in the wielding

of *flame* that Tulkas (? originally Vala of the Sun) defeated him in the First Battle. Melkor therefore comes mostly *at night* and especially to the North in winter. (It was after the First Battle that Varda set *certain stars* as ominous signs for the dwellers in Arda to see.)

The Valar to counteract this make the Moon. Out of earth-stuff or Sun? This is to be a subsidiary light to mitigate night* (as Melkor had made it), and also a 'vessel of watch and ward' to circle the world.[7] But Melkor gathered in the Void spirits of cold &*c.* and suddenly assailed it, driving out the Vala Tilion.[8] The Moon was thereafter long while steerless and vagrant and called *Rana* (neuter).[9]

[*If* Tulkas came from the Sun, then *Tulkas* was the form this Vala adopted on Earth, being in origin *Auron* (masculine). But the Sun is feminine; and it is better that the Vala should be *Áren*, a maiden whom Melkor endeavoured to make his spouse (or ravished);[10] she went up in a flame of wrath and anguish and her spirit was released from Eä, but Melkor was blackened and burned, and his form was thereafter dark, and he took to darkness. (The Sun itself was *Anar* neuter or *Úr*, cf. *Rana, Ithil.*)]

The Sun remained a Lonely Fire, polluted by Melkor, but after the death of the Two Trees Tilion returned to the Moon, which remained therefore an enemy of Melkor and his servants and creatures of night — and so beloved of Elves later &c.

After the capture of the Moon Melkor begins to be more bold again. He establishes permanent seats in the North deep underground. From thence proceeds the secret corruption which perverts the labours of the Valar (especially of Aulë and Yavanna).

The Valar grow weary. At length discovering Melkor and where he dwells they seek to drive him out again, but Utumno proves too strong.

Varda has preserved some of the Primeval Light (her original chief concern in the Great Tale). The Two Trees are made. The Valar make their resting place and dwellings in Valinor in the West.

Now one of the objects of the Trees (as later of the Jewels) was the healing of the hurts of Melkor, but this could easily have a *selfish* aspect: the staying of history — not going on with the Tale. This effect it had on the Valar. They became more and more enamoured of Valinor, and went there more often and stayed there longer. Middle-earth was left too little tended, and too little

protected against Melkor.

Towards the end of the Days of Bliss, the Valar find the tables turned. They are driven out of Middle-earth by Melkor and his evil spirits and monsters; and can only themselves come there secretly and briefly (Oromë and Yavanna mainly).

This period must be *brief*. Both sides know that the coming of the Children of God is imminent. Melkor desires to dominate them at once with fear and darkness and enslave them. He *darkens the world* [*added in margin:* for 7 years?] cutting off all vision of the sky so far as he can, and though far south (it is said) this was not effective. From the far North (where [they are] dense) to the middle (Endor)11 great clouds brood. Moon and stars are invisible. Day is only a dim twilight at full. Only light [is] in Valinor.

Varda arises in her might and Manwë of the Winds and strive with the Cloud of Unseeing. But as fast as it is rent Melkor closes the veil again — at least over Middle-earth. Then came the Great Wind of Manwë, and the veil was rent. The stars shine out clear even in the North (*Valakirka*) and after the long dark seem terribly bright.

It is in the *dark* just before that the Elves awake. The first thing they see in the dark is the stars. But Melkor brings up glooms out of the East, and the stars fade away west. Hence they think from the beginning of light and beauty in the West.

The Coming of Oromë.

The Third Battle and the captivity of Melkor. The Eldar go to Valinor. The clouds slowly disperse after the capture of Melkor though Utumno still belches. It is darkest eastward, furthest from the breath of Manwë.

The March of the Eldar is through great Rains?

Men awake in an Isle amid the floods and therefore welcome the Sun which seems to come out of the East. Only when the world is drier do they leave the Isle and spread abroad.

It is only Men that met Elves and heard the rumours of the West that go that way. For the Elves said: ‘If you delight in the Sun, you will walk in the path it goes.’

The coming of Men will therefore be much further back.12 This will be better; for a bare 400 years is quite inadequate to produce the variety, and the advancement (e.g. of the Edain) at the time of Felagund.13

Men must awake while Melkor is still in Arda? — because of

their Fall.[14] Therefore in some period during the Great March.

This text ends here. There follows now the associated narrative, identical in appearance to the foregoing discussion (both elements are written in the same rather unusual script).

After the Valar, who before were the Ainur of the Great Song, entered into Eä, those who were the noblest among them and understood most of the mind of Ilúvatar sought amid the immeasurable regions of the Beginning for that place where they should establish the Kingdom of Arda in time to come. And when they had chosen that point and region where it should be, they began the labours that were needed. Others there were, countless to our thought though known each and numbered in the mind of Ilúvatar, whose labour lay elsewhere and in other regions and histories of the Great Tale, amid stars remote and worlds beyond the reach of the furthest thought. But of these others we know nothing and cannot know, though the Valar of Arda, maybe, remember them all.

Chief of the Valar of Arda was he whom the Eldar afterwards named Manwë, the Blessed: the Elder King, since he was the first of all kings in [Arda >] Eä. Brother to him was Melkor, the Potent, and he had, as has been told, fallen into pride and desire of his own dominion. Therefore the Valar avoided him, and began the building and ordering of Arda without him. For which reason it is said that whereas there is now great evil in Arda and many things therein are at discord, so that the good of one seemeth to be the hurt of another, nonetheless the foundations of this world are good, and it turns by nature to good, healing itself from within by the power that was set there in its making; and evil in Arda would fail and pass away if it were not renewed from without: that is: that comes from wills and being [*sic*] that are other than Arda itself.

And as is known well, the prime among these is Melkor. Measureless as were the regions of Eä, yet in the Beginning, where he could have been Master of all that was done — for there were many of the Ainur of the Song willing to follow him and serve him, if he called — still he was not content. And he sought ever for Arda and Manwë, his brother, begrudging him the kingship, small though it might seem to his desire and his potency; for he knew that to that kingship Ilúvatar designed to give the highest royalty in Eä, and under the rule of that throne to bring forth the Children of God.

And in his thought which deceived him, for the liar shall lie unto himself, he believed that over the Children he might hold absolute sway and be unto them sole lord and master, as he could not be to spirits of his own kind, however subservient to himself. For they knew that the One Is, and must assent to Melkor's rebellion of their own choice; whereas he purposed to withhold from the Children this knowledge and be for ever a shadow between them and the light.

As a shadow Melkor did not then conceive himself. For in his beginning he loved and desired light, and the form that he took was exceedingly bright; and he said in his heart: 'On such brightness as I am the Children shall hardly endure to look; therefore to know of aught else or beyond or even to strain their small minds to conceive of it would not be for their good.' But the lesser brightness that stands before the greater becomes a darkness. And Melkor was jealous, therefore, of all other brightnesses, and wished to take all light unto himself. Therefore Ilúvatar, at the entering in of the Valar into Eä, added a theme to the Great Song which was not in it at the first Singing, and he called one of the Ainur to him. Now this was that Spirit which afterwards became Varda (and taking female form became the spouse of Manwë). To Varda Ilúvatar said: 'I will give unto thee a parting gift. Thou shalt take into Eä a light that is holy, coming new from Me, unsullied by the thought and lust of Melkor, and with thee it shall enter into Eä, and be in Eä, but not of Eä.' Wherefore Varda is the most holy and revered of all the Valar, and those that name the light of Varda name the love of Eä that Eru has, and they are afraid, less only to name the One. Nonetheless this gift of Ilúvatar to the Valar has its own peril, as have all his free gifts: which is in the end no more than to say that they play a part in the Great Tale so that it may be complete; for without peril they would be without power, and the giving would be void.

When therefore at last Melkor discovered the abiding place of Manwë and his friends he went thither in great haste, as a blazing fire. And finding that already great labours had been achieved without his counsel, he was angered, and desired to undo what was done or to alter it according to his own mind.

But this Manwë would not suffer, and there was war therefore in Arda. But as is elsewhere written Melkor was at that time defeated with the aid of Tulkas (who was not among those who began the building of Eä) and driven out again into the Void that lay about

Arda. This is named the First Battle; and though Manwë had the victory, great hurt was done to the work of the Valar; and the worst of the deeds of the wrath of Melkor was seen in the Sun. Now the Sun was designed to be the heart of Arda, and the Valar purposed that it should give light to all that Realm, unceasingly and without wearying or diminution, and that from its light the world should receive health and life and growth. Therefore Varda set there the most ardent and beautiful of all those spirits that had entered with her into Eä, and she was named *Ār(i)*,15 and Varda gave to her keeping a portion of the gift of Ilúvatar so that the Sun should endure and be blessed and give blessing. The Sun, the loremasters tell us, was in that beginning named *Âs* (which is as near as it can be interpreted Warmth, to which are joined Light and Solace), and that the spirit therefore was called *Āzië* (or later *Ārië*).

But Melkor, as hath been told, lusted after all light, desiring it jealously for his own. Moreover he soon perceived that in Âs there was a light that had been concealed from him, and which had a power of which he had not thought. Therefore, afire at once with desire and anger, he went to Âs [*written above:* Asa], and he spoke to Árië, saying: 'I have chosen thee, and thou shalt be my spouse, even as Varda is to Manwë, and together we shall wield all splendour and mastery. Then the kingship of Arda shall be mine in deed as in right, and thou shalt be the partner of my glory.'

But Árië rejected Melkor and rebuked him, saying: 'Speak not of right, which thou hast long forgotten. Neither for thee nor by thee alone was Eä made; and thou shalt not be King of Arda. Beware therefore; for there is in the heart of Ás a light in which thou hast no part, and a fire which will not serve thee. Put not out thy hand to it. For though thy potency may destroy it, it will burn thee and thy brightness will be made dark.'

Melkor did not heed her warning, but cried in his wrath: 'The gift which is withheld I take!' and he ravished Árië, desiring both to abase her and to take into himself her powers. Then the spirit of Árië went up like a flame of anguish and wrath, and departed for ever from Arda;* and the Sun was bereft of the Light of Varda, and was stained by the assault of Melkor. And being for a long while without rule it flamed with excessive heat or grew too cool, so that grievous hurt was done to Arda and the fashioning of the world was marred and delayed, until with long toil the Valar made a new order.† But even as Árië foretold, Melkor was burned and his

brightness darkened, and he gave no more light, but light pained him exceedingly and he hated it.

Nonetheless Melkor would not leave Arda in peace; and above all he begrudged to the Valar their dwelling on Earth, and desired to injure their labours there, or bring them to naught, if he could. Therefore he returned to Earth, but for fear of the might of the Valar and of Tulkas more than all he came now in secret. And in his hatred of the Sun he came to the North at night in winter. At first he would depart when the long day of summer came; but after a time, becoming bolder again, and desiring a dwelling place of his own, he began the delving underground of his great fortress in the far North, which was afterwards named *Utumno* (or *Udûn*).

The Valar therefore, when they became aware by the signs of evil that were seen upon Earth that Melkor had stolen back, sought in vain for him, though Tulcas and Oromë went wide over Middle-earth even to the uttermost East. When they perceived that Melkor would now turn darkness and night to his purposes, as he had aforetime sought to wield flame, they were grieved; for it was a part of their design that there should be change and alteration upon Earth, and neither day perpetual nor night without end.* For by Night the Children of Arda should know Day, and perceive and love Light; and yet Night should also in its kind be good and blessed, being a time of repose, and of inward thought; and a vision also of things high and fair that are beyond Arda, but are veiled by the splendour of Anar. But Melkor would make it a time of peril unseen, of fear without form, an uneasy vigil; or a haunted dream, leading through despair to the shadow of Death.

Therefore Manwë took counsel with Varda, and they called Aulë to their aid. And they resolved to alter the fashion of Arda and of Earth, and in their thought they devised Ithil, the Moon. In what way and with what labours they wrought in deed this great device of their thought, who shall say: for which of the Children hath seen the Valar in the uprising of their strength or listened to their counsels in the flower of their youth? Who hath observed their labour as they laboured, who hath seen the newness of the new?

Some say that it was out of Earth[16] itself that Ithil was made, and thus Ambar[17] was diminished; others say that the Moon was made of like things to the Earth and of that which is Eä itself as it was made in the Tale.[18]

Now when the Moon was full-wrought it was set above Ambar,

and directed to go ever round and about, bringing a light to dark places from which the Sun had departed. But it was a lesser light, so that moonlight was not the same as sunlight, and there was still change of light upon the Earth; moreover there was still also night under the stars, for the Moon and the Sun were at certain times and seasons both absent.

This at least is what came after to be by that doom spoken by Ilúvatar ..... the evil of Melkor should in its own despite bring forth things more fair than the devising of his ..... For some have held that the Moon was at first aflame, but was later made [?strong] and life .....: later but while Arda was unfashioned and still in the turmoils of Melkor.

So much is known to the Wise, that Tilion – [*sic*] and that Melkor was filled with new wrath at the rising of the Moon. Therefore for a while he left Ambar again and went out into the Outer Night, and gathered to him some of those spirits who would answer his call.

A page of rough and disconnected notes obviously preceded this text, but must belong to much the same time: ideas found in the discussion and synopsis preceding the narrative are found also here, such as the 'great darkness of shadow' created by Melkor that blotted out the Sun. In these notes my father was still asking himself whether he should 'keep the old mythological story of the making of the Sun and Moon, or alter the background to a "round earth" version', and observing that in the latter case the Moon would be a work of Melkor's to provide 'a safe retreat' — thus returning to the idea of the origin of the Moon found years before in text C* of the *Ainulindalë* (p. 41, §31). Doubt and lack of certain direction are very strongly conveyed, as he wrestled with the intractable problems posed by the presence of the Sun in the sky under which the Elves awoke, which was lit only by the stars.[19]

There are features in the present text that clearly associate it with the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (see notes 2 and 3 below), among them the use of the name *Arda* to mean the Solar System; but while the Earth itself is in the Commentary named *Imbar* it has here the older name *Ambar* (see note 17). There can be no doubt, I think, that the present text was the earlier of the two. On the other hand, no more finished or complete presentation of the new conceptions at large, the 'new mythology', is found; and it seems at

any rate arguable that while committed in mind to the abandonment of the old myth of the origin of the Sun and Moon my father left in abeyance the formulation and expression of the new. It may be, though I have no evidence on the question one way or the other, that he came to perceive from such experimental writing as this text that the old structure was too comprehensive, too interlocked in all its parts, indeed its roots too deep, to withstand such a devastating surgery.

NOTES

1In AAm §15 (p. 52) 'there was great growth of trees and herbs, and beasts and birds came forth' in the light of the Lamps: that was the Spring of Arda. But after the destruction of the Lamps Yavanna 'set a sleep upon many fair things that had arisen in the Spring, both tree and herb and beast and bird, so that they should not age but should wait for a time of awakening that yet should be' (§30, p. 70).

2On the astronomical knowledge to be presumed among the High-elves cf. Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337) — where as here *Arda* is equated with the Solar System — and Text I (p. 370).

3The thought of this paragraph is closely paralleled in Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337), and the final sentence is very similar to what is said in the Commentary itself, p. 334 ('Melkor was not just a local Evil on Earth …').

4In AAm §24 (p. 54) it is told that after the Fall of the Lamps 'Middle-earth lay in a twilight beneath the stars that Varda had wrought in the ages forgotten of her labours in Ëa', and in §34 (p. 71) Varda looked out from Taniquetil 'and beheld the darkness of the Earth beneath the innumerable stars, faint and far', before she began the making of new and brighter stars; so also in the revised *Quenta Silmarillion* (p. 159, §19): 'Then Varda … made new stars and brighter against the coming of the First-born. Wherefore she whose name out of the deeps of time and the labours of Eä was Tintallë, the Kindler, was called after by the Elves Elentári, the Queen of the Stars.' But if she can still perhaps be called *Elentári*, she can no longer be called *Tintallë* (see however p. 388 and note 3).

In a late emendation to the final text D of the *Ainulindalë* (p.

34, §36) the words concerning Varda ‘she it was who wrought the Stars’ were changed to ‘she it was who wrought the Great Stars’; and it seems possible that this was done in the light of the ideas presented here.

5 Cf. Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337), with note 13 to that passage.

6 This is of course altogether different from the form of the legend in the *Ainulindalë* (p. 14, §23): ‘But Melkor, too, was there from the first, and he meddled in all that was done’; while in the text C* (p. 40) Melkor entered Arda before the other Ainur.

7 The legend in *Ainulindalë* C* that Melkor himself made the Moon so that he ‘could observe thence all that happened below’ (p. 41, §31) had been abandoned (but see p. 383).

8 In AAm (p. 131, §172) and in QS (§75) Tilion was no Vala, but ‘a young hunter of the company of Oromë’. In AAm §179 appears the story that Morgoth assailed Tilion, ‘sending spirits of shadow against him’, but unavailingly.

9 On names of the Sun and Moon see QS §75 and commentary (V.241, 243) and the later revision of the passage (p. 198); also AAm §171 and commentary (pp. 130, 136).

10 In AAm (p. 133, §179) it was told that ‘Arien Morgoth feared with a great fear, and dared not to come nigh her’.

11 On the name *Endor* see AAm §38 (pp. 72, 76).

12 See p. 327 note 16.

13 ‘at the time of Felagund’: i.e. at the time when Finrod Felagund encountered Men, first of the High-elves to do so (p. 307).

14 ‘Men must awake while Melkor is still in Arda?’: ‘Arda’ must be an error for ‘Middle-earth’ (i.e. before his captivity in Aman).

15 An *s* is pencilled over the *r* of *Ār(i)*.

16 Above *Earth* my father wrote Ambar, then struck it out, and wrote ‘*Mar* = House’. See the next note.

17 In Note 2 to the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* (p. 337, and see note 12 to that passage) appears *Imbar*, translated ‘the Habitation’, = Earth, ‘the principal part of Arda’ (= the Solar System).

18 From this point the manuscript becomes very rough, in places illegible, and soon peters out.

19 In other scribbled notes (written at the same time as text II and constituting a part of that manuscript) my father wrote that Varda gave the holy light received in gift from Ilúvatar (see p.

380) not only to the Sun and to the Two Trees but also to 'the significant Star'. The meaning of this is nowhere explained. Beside it he wrote *Signifer*, and many experimental Elvish names, as *Taengyl*, *Tengyl*, *Tannacolli or Tankol*, *Tainacolli*; also a verbal root *tana* 'show, indicate'; *tanna* 'sign'; and *kolla* 'borne, worn, especially a vestment or cloak', with the note '*Sindikoll-o* is masculinized'.

III

This very brief and hasty statement was found in a small collection of such notes folded in a newspaper of April 1959. It was written on a slip of paper torn from a bill from Merton College dated in June 1955; a similar bill of October 1955 was used for a passage of drafting for the *Athrabeth* (p. 352). I have noticed (p. 304) that the use of such documents of the year 1955 might suggest that the *Athrabeth* was not the work of a single concentrated period, although if my father had prepared a supply of such slips for brief notes or passages of drafting and other purposes the date would be misleading.

What happened in Valinor after the Death of the Trees? Aman was 'unveiled' — it had been covered with a *dome* (made by Varda) of mist or cloud down through which no sight would pierce nor light. This dome was lit by stars — in imitation of the great Firmament of Eä. This now rendered Valinor dark except for starlight [i.e. after the death of the Trees]. It was removed and Aman was lit by the Sun — its blessing was thus removed. (Melkor's defilement of the Sun must thus precede the Two Trees which had light of Sun and Stars before Melkor [?tainted] it — or the Trees [?could ?would] be lit by light before the [?Turbulence] of Melkor.)

I do not feel altogether certain of the meaning of the extremely elliptical concluding sentence in brackets, but it should perhaps be interpreted thus — as the statement of a problem arising from what has been said. The Dome of Varda must have been contrived after the ravishing of Árië by Melkor, in order to keep out the Sun's polluted light;[1] and Aman was lit beneath the Dome by the Two Trees. But on the other hand, it is an essential idea that the light of the Trees was derived from the Sun before it was 'tainted'. A resolution of this conflict may be found (reading 'could', not

'would', in the last phrase) in the idea that the light of the Trees was an unsullied light preserved by Varda from a time before the assaults of Melkor.

In the initial discussion in text II it is made clear that the Sun had been defiled before the Two Trees came into being: 'Now one of the objects of the Trees … was the healing of the hurts of Melkor' (p. 377); but it is also said that 'Varda has preserved some of the Primeval Light… The Two Trees are made.' This appears to be the solution to which my father came in the present text, thus suggesting that it preceded text II. On the other hand, there is no suggestion of the Dome of Varda in text II, and that text gives the impression that my father was beginning a new story, working it out as he went. It is probably vain to try to establish a clear sequence of composition from these papers, since he might return to the same problem and find what appears to be the same resolution at different times.

It is a notable fact that the Dome of Varda appears in my father's final work on the narrative text of the *Quenta Silmarillion* Chapter 6 (p. 286, §57). Where in AAm (p. 98, §108) it was told that Melkor, with Ungoliantë beside him, looked out from the summit of Mount Hyarantar and 'saw afar … the silver domes of Valmar gleaming in the mingling of the lights of Telperion and Laurelin', in the *Quenta Silmarillion* Ungoliantë (now, in the changed story, lying on the summit alone) 'saw *the glimmer of the stars in the dome of Varda* and the radiance of Valmar far away.' Thus when later in the final rewriting ('The Rape of the Silmarils', p. 293, §1) it is told that above the Valar sitting in the Ring of Doom 'the stars of Varda now glimmered overhead', it must be the stars of the Dome that were glimmering.[2]

NOTES

[1] But in text IV (p. 388) it is said that the Dome of Varda was made 'to keep out any spirits or spies of Melkor'.

[2] In the corresponding passage in the *Annals of Aman* (p. 106, §117) it is said: 'the gods sat in shadow, for it was night. But now night only as it may be in some land of the world, when the stars peer fitfully through the wrack of great clouds, and cold fogs drift in from a sullen shore of the sea.' In the published *Silmarillion* the final text ('the stars of Varda now

glimmered overhead') was used; this does not indeed introduce any difficulty within the narrative, but I did not at that time perceive the significance of the words.

IV

There is a further statement about the Dome of Varda in a manuscript to which I have several times referred (VI.466; VIII.20; IX.73), an analysis (in intention) of all fragments of other languages found in *The Lord of the Rings*. The passage that I quote here comes from a long note on the song to Elbereth at the end of the chapter 'Many Meetings'. It may be mentioned incidentally that my father noted on the word *menel*: 'the heavens, the apparent dome of the sky. (Probably a Quenya word introduced into Sindarin. It was opposed to *kemen* "the Earth" as an apparent flat floor under *menel*. But these were "pictorial" words, as the lore of the Eldar and the Númenóreans knew much astronomy.)'

The passage concerning the Dome arises from the statement that *Elbereth* has *el-* 'star' prefixed (with the note 'But since *b* is not mutated the name is probably to be referred to **elen-barathi* > *elmbereth*').

The mythological association of Varda with the stars is of twofold origin. In the 'demiurgic period', before the establishment of Arda 'the Realm', while the Valar in general (including an unnamed host of others who never came to Arda)[1] were labouring in the general construction of Eä (the World or Universe), Varda was in Eldarin and Númenórean legend said to have designed and set in their places most of the principal stars; but being (by destiny and desire) the future Queen of Arda, in which her ultimate function lay, especially as the lover and protectress of the Quendi, she was concerned not only with the great Stars in themselves, but also in their relations to Arda, and their appearance therefrom (and their effect upon the Children to come). Such forms and major patterns, therefore, as we call (for instance) *the Plough*, or *Orion*, were said to be her designs. Thus the *Valacirca* or 'Sickle of the Gods', which was one of the Eldarin names for the Plough, was, it was said, intended later to be a sign of menace and threat of vengeance over the North in which Melkor took up his abode (Varda was the most foresighted of all the Valar, possessing the clearest memory of the Music and Vision in which she had played

only a small part as actor or player, but had listened most attentively).[2]

Later, when the Valar took refuge from Melkor, and the imminent ruin of Arda, and built and fortified Valinor in Aman, it was Varda who made the great dome above Valinor, to keep out any spirits or spies of Melkor. It was made as a simulacrum of the true firmament *(Tar-menel),* and the patterns were therein repeated, but with apparent stars (or 'sparks' : *tinwi*) of greater relative size to the total visible area. So that the lesser firmament of Valinor *(Nur-menel*) was very brilliant.

From this work (chiefly: but also her original demiurgic labours were included) she was called 'Star-kindler'. Note that √*elen* properly referred to the real stars of Eä (but could also naturally be transferred to their *imagines*). The words *tinwë, ñillë* (√*tin* 'spark', √*ngil* 'silver glint') and Sindarin *tim, gil* referred properly to the Valinorian *imagines.* Hence Quenya *Tintallë* from *tinta* 'cause to sparkle', but also *Elentári* 'Queen of Stars'; Sindarin *Elbereth*, but also *Gilthoniel.*[3]

This note on Elbereth ends with a slightly jumbled and obscure statement to the effect that *Gilthoniel* is derived from the stems √*ngil* and √*thăn / thān* 'kindle, set light to'; *iel* a feminine suffix corresponding to male *-we.*

These remarks on Varda seem to raise further questions. In text II (pp. 375–6) my father declared that 'the cosmogonic mythology should represent Arda as it is, more or less: an island in the void "amidst the innumerable stars"'; that 'the Stars, therefore, in general will be other and remoter parts of the Great Tale of Eä, which do not concern the Valar of Arda'; and that 'Varda, therefore, as one of the great Valar of Arda, cannot be said to have "kindled" the stars, as an original subcreative act — not at least the stars in general.' I have taken this to mean (p. 384 note 4) that the 'star-making' of Varda was to be confined to (at most) the making of the 'Great Stars' before the Awakening of the Elves. In the present text, on the other hand, appears the remarkable conception that the 'demiurgic' work of Varda was the making and disposition of certain 'principal' stars, which should in ages to come, after the establishment of the Earth, be visible in its skies as figures significant of its history — the 'dramatic centre' of Eä.

While I think it certain that this text comes from the late 1950s, there seems no way in which to date it more precisely either

externally or in relation to other writings.

NOTES

1 Cf. text II (p. 378): ‘Others there were, countless to our thought …, whose labour lay elsewhere and in other regions and histories of the Great Tale, amid stars remote and worlds beyond the reach of the furthest thought.’

2 It is a curious point that what is said here of Varda’s part in the Music of the Ainur is largely repeated from what is told of Nienna in the ‘lost’ typescript of the beginning of the *Annals of Aman* (AAm*, p. 68, §26). There it is told of her that she ‘took little part’ in the Music, but ‘listened intent to all that she heard. Therefore she was rich in memory, and farsighted, perceiving how the themes should unfold in the Tale of Arda.’

3 It is interesting to compare what is said here about the names of Varda with what my father said on the subject in a note dated 3 February 1938 (V.200): ‘*Tintallë* Kindler can stand — but *tinwë* in Quenya only = spark (*tinta-* to kindle). Therefore *Tinwerína* > *Elerína*, *Tinwerontar* > *Elentári*’.

V

This brief comment, entitled ‘Sun The Trees Silmarils’, is found on a single sheet, together with other more substantial writings similar in appearance, preserved in a folded newspaper of November 1958.

The making of the Sun after the Death of the Trees is not only impossible ‘mythology’ now — especially since the Valar must be supposed to know the truth about the structure of Eä (and not make mythical guesses like Men) and to have communicated this to the Eldar (and so to Númenóreans!) — it is also impossible chronologically in the Narrative.

The Sun existed as part of the Kingdom of Arda. In so far as there was darkness (and diminishment of growth in Arda consequently) when the Valar removed to Aman it was due to obscurations devised by Melkor: clouds and smokes (a volcanic era!).

The Sun was the immediate source of the light of Arda. The Blessedness of the Trees (as compared with other growing things

later) was that they were kindled and illumined with the light of the Sun and Moon *before these were tainted*. The attack of Melkor on the Sun (and Moon) must therefore be subsequent to the establishment of Valinor, and be Melkor's effort to produce darkness.

Since the Silmarils were kindled from the Trees after the Death of the Trees, this 'light of the Unmarred Sun' remained only in them.

In text III, my father's note on the removal of the Dome of Varda after the death of the Trees, he was confronted by the problem (if my analysis of his meaning is correct, p. 386) that 'Melkor's defilement of the Sun must *precede* the Two Trees', whereas the light of the Trees was derived from the unsullied light of the Sun and Moon. Here he concludes that 'the attack of Melkor on the Sun (and Moon) must be *subsequent to* the establishment of Valinor'.

The word *after* in the concluding sentence is no more than a slip in extremely rapid writing.

VI

This text, entitled *Melkor* with *Morgoth* written beneath, is from the same collection as is text III (found in a newspaper dated April 1959), and was written on four slips made from further copies of the same Merton College documents dated June 1955 as is the draft A of the *Athrabeth* (pp. 350–2). The slip on which text III is written carries also preliminary drafting for the present essay on Melkor.

It is notable that text VI begins with a reference to 'Finrod and Andreth', which was therefore in existence, at least in some form.

Melkor Morgoth

Melkor must be made *far more powerful* in original nature (cf. 'Finrod and Andreth'). The greatest power under Eru (sc. the greatest created power).[1] (He was to make / devise / begin; Manwë (a little less great) was to improve, carry out, complete.)

Later, he must *not* be able to be controlled or 'chained' by all the Valar combined. Note that in the early age of Arda he was alone able to drive the Valar out of Middle-earth into retreat.

The war against Utumno was only undertaken by the Valar with reluctance, and without hope of real victory, but rather as a

covering action or diversion, to enable them to get the Quendi out of his sphere of influence. But Melkor had already progressed some way towards becoming 'the Morgoth, a tyrant (or central tyranny and will), + his agents'.[2] Only the *total* contained the old power of the complete Melkor; so that if 'the Morgoth' could be reached or temporarily separated from his agents he was much more nearly controllable and on a power-level with the Valar. The Valar find that they can deal with his agents (sc. armies, Balrogs, etc.) piecemeal. So that they come at last to Utumno itself and find that 'the Morgoth' has no longer for the moment sufficient 'force' (in any sense) to shield himself from direct personal contact. Manwë at last faces Melkor again, as he has not done since he entered Arda. Both are amazed: Manwë to perceive the *decrease* in Melkor as a *person*; Melkor to perceive this also from his own point of view: he has now less personal force than Manwë, and can no longer daunt him with his gaze.

Either Manwë must tell him so or he must himself suddenly realize (or both) that this has happened: he is 'dispersed'. But the lust to have creatures under him, dominated, has become habitual and necessary to Melkor, so that even if the process was reversible (possibly was by absolute and unfeigned self-abasement and repentance only) he cannot bring himself to do it.* As with all other characters there must be a *trembling moment* when it is in the balance: he nearly repents — and does not, and becomes much wickeder, and more foolish.

Possibly (and he thinks it possible) he could now *at that moment* be humiliated against his own will and 'chained' — if and before his dispersed forces reassemble. So — as soon as he has mentally rejected repentance — he (just like Sauron afterwards on this model) makes a mockery of self-abasement and repentance. From which actually he gets a kind of perverted pleasure as in desecrating something holy — [for the mere contemplating of the possibility of genuine repentance, if that did not come specially then as a direct grace from Eru, was at least one last flicker of his true primeval nature.][3] He *feigns* remorse and repentance. He actually kneels before Manwë and surrenders — in the first instance to avoid being chained by the Chain Angainor, which once upon him he fears would not ever be able to be shaken off. But also suddenly he has the idea of penetrating the vaunted fastness of Valinor, and ruining it. So he offers to become 'the least of the

Valar' and servant of them each and all, to help (in advice and skill) in repairing all the evils and hurts he has done. It is this offer which seduces or deludes Manwë — Manwë must be shown to have his own inherent fault (though not sin):* he has become engrossed (partly out of sheer fear of Melkor, partly out of desire to control him) in amendment, healing, re-ordering — even 'keeping the status quo' — to the loss of all creative power and even to weakness in dealing with difficult and perilous situations. Against the advice of some of the Valar (such as Tulkas) he grants Melkor's prayer.

Melkor is taken back to Valinor going last (save for Tulkas† who follows bearing Angainor and clinking it to remind Melkor).

But at the council Melkor is not given immediate freedom. The Valar in assembly will not tolerate this. Melkor is remitted to Mandos (to stay there in 'reclusion' and meditate, and complete his repentance — and also his plans for redress).4

Then he begins to doubt the wisdom of his own policy, and would have rejected it all and burst out into flaming rebellion — but he is now absolutely isolated from his agents and in enemy territory. He cannot. Therefore he swallows the bitter pill (but it greatly increases his hate, and he ever afterward accused Manwë of being faithless).

The rest of the story, with Melkor's release, and permission to attend the Council sitting at the feet of Manwë (after the pattern of evil counsellors in later tales, which it could be said derive from this primeval model?), can then proceed more or less as already told.

In this short essay it is seen that in his reflections on the nature of Melkor, the vastness of his primeval power and its 'dispersion', my father had been led to propose certain important alterations in the narrative of the legends as told in the *Quenta Silmarillion* (pp. 161, 186) and in the *Annals of Aman* (pp. 75, 80, 93). In the narrative as it stood, and as it remained,5 there was no suggestion that Melkor feigned repentance when (no longer able to 'daunt him with his gaze') he faced Manwë in Utumno — already harbouring 'the idea of penetrating the vaunted fastness of Valinor, and ruining it'. On the contrary, 'Tulkas stood forth as the champion of the Valar and wrestled with him and cast him upon his face, and bound him with the chain Angainor'6 (an ancient element, going back to the richly pictorial and 'primitive' account in the story of 'The Chaining of Melko' in *The Book of Lost Tales*, I.100–4). Moreover, in

the present text it was now, defeated at Utumno, that Melkor offered to become 'the least of the Valar', and to aid them in the redress of all the evils that he had brought to pass, whereas in the narratives he did this when he came before the Valar after he had endured the ages of his incarceration in Mandos and sued for pardon. Of Manwë it was said, when Melkor was allowed to go freely about Valinor, that he believed that his evil was cured: 'for he himself was free from the evil and could not comprehend it'. No such flaw or 'inherent fault' in Manwë as is described in this essay was suggested;7 although it was told that Ulmo, and Tulkas, doubted the wisdom of such clemency (and this too is an element that goes back to *The Book of Lost Tales*: 'Such was the doom of Manwë … albeit Tulkas and Palúrien thought it merciful to peril' (I.105)).

NOTES

1Cf. Finrod's words in the *Athrabeth* (p. 322): 'there is no power conceivable greater than Melkor save Eru only'.

2The earliest reference to the idea of the 'dispersion' of Melkor's original power is found in the *Annals of Aman* §179 (p. 133):

> For as he grew in malice, and sent forth from himself the evil that he conceived in lies and creatures of wickedness, his power passed into them and was dispersed, and he himself became ever more earth-bound, unwilling to issue from his dark strongholds.

Cf. also *Annals* §128 (p. 110). — The expression 'the Morgoth' is used several times by Finrod in the *Athrabeth*.

3The square brackets were put in after the writing of the passage.

4'his plans for redress': i.e. redress of the evils he has brought about.

5The second passage in QS, in which the pardon of Melkor is recounted (p. 186, §48), was changed in the final rewriting of Chapter 6: see p. 273, §48. But though the changed text introduced the ideas that any complete reversal of the evils brought about by Melkor was impossible, and that he was 'in his beginning the greatest of the Powers', the narrative was not altered in respect of changes envisaged in this essay (see note 7).

6Alteration to the old story of the encounter at Utumno might

have entered if QS Chapter 3 (in which this is recounted) had formed a part of the late rewriting that transformed the old Chapter 6; but see note 7.

7In the final rewriting of QS Chapter 6 (p. 273, §48) this remained the case (note 5); and the original story was also retained that it was in Valinor after his imprisonment, not at Utumno, that Melkor made his promises of service and reparation. This might suggest that the present essay was written *after* the new work on QS (almost certainly dating from the end of the 1950s, p. 300), supporting the idea that the date of the documents on which the essay was written (1955) is misleading (see >p. 385).

VII

This essay is found in two forms. The earlier (‘**A**’) is a fairly brief text of four pages in manuscript, titled ‘Some notes on the “philosophy” of the *Silmarillion*‘; it is rapidly expressed and does not have a clear ending. The second (‘**B**’) is a greatly expanded version of twelve pages, also in manuscript, of far more careful expression and beginning in fine script, but breaking off unfinished, indeed in the middle of a sentence. This is titled ‘Notes on motives in *the Silmarillion*’.

The relation between the two forms is such that for most of its length there is no need to give any of the text of A, for all of its content is found embedded in B. From the point (p. 401) where the Valar are condemned for the raising of the Pelóri, however, the texts diverge. In B my father introduced a long palliation of the conduct of the Valar, and the essay breaks off before the matter of the concluding section of A was reached (see note 6); this is therefore given at the end of B.

The text of B was subsequently divided and lettered as three distinct sections, here numbered (i), (ii), and (iii).

Notes on motives in the Silmarillion

(i)

Sauron was ‘greater’, effectively, in the Second Age than Morgoth at the end of the First. Why? Because, though he was far smaller by natural stature, he had not yet fallen so low. Eventually he also

squandered his power (of being) in the endeavour to gain control of others. But he was not obliged to expend so much of himself. To gain domination over Arda, Morgoth had let most of his being pass into the *physical* constituents of the Earth — hence all things that were born on Earth and lived on and by it, beasts or plants or incarnate spirits, were liable to be 'stained'. Morgoth at the time of the War of the Jewels had become permanently 'incarnate': for this reason he was afraid, and waged the war almost entirely by means of devices, or of subordinates and dominated creatures.

Sauron, however, inherited the 'corruption' of Arda, and only spent his (much more limited) power on the Rings; for it was the *creatures* of earth, in their *minds and wills*, that he desired to dominate. In this way Sauron was also wiser than Melkor-Morgoth. Sauron was not a beginner of discord; and he probably knew more of the 'Music' than did Melkor, whose mind had always been filled with his own plans and devices, and gave little attention to other things. The time of Melkor's greatest power, therefore, was in the physical beginnings of the World; a vast demiurgic lust for power and the achievement of his own will and designs, on a great scale. And later after things had become more stable, Melkor was more interested in and capable of dealing with a volcanic eruption, for example, than with (say) a tree. It is indeed probable that he was simply unaware of the minor or more delicate productions of Yavanna: such as small flowers.*

Thus, as 'Morgoth', when Melkor was confronted by the existence of other inhabitants of Arda, with other wills and intelligences, he was enraged by the mere fact of their existence, and his only notion of dealing with them was by physical force, or the fear of it. His sole ultimate object was their destruction. Elves, and still more Men, he despised because of their 'weakness': that is their lack of physical force, or power over 'matter'; but he was also afraid of them. He was aware, at any rate originally when still capable of rational thought, that he could not 'annihilate'** them: that is, destroy their being; but their physical 'life', and incarnate form became increasingly to his mind the only thing that was worth considering.† Or he became so far advanced in Lying that he lied even to himself, and pretended that he could destroy them and rid Arda of them altogether. Hence his endeavour always to break wills and subordinate them to or absorb them into his own will and being, before destroying their bodies. This was sheer nihilism, and

negation its one ultimate object: Morgoth would no doubt, if he had been victorious, have ultimately destroyed even his own 'creatures', such as the Orcs, when they had served his sole purpose in using them: the destruction of Elves and Men. Melkor's final impotence and despair lay in this: that whereas the Valar (and in their degree Elves and Men) could still love 'Arda Marred', that is Arda with a Melkor-ingredient, and could still heal this or that hurt, or produce from its very marring, from its state as it was, things beautiful and lovely, Melkor could do nothing with Arda, which was not from his own mind and was interwoven with the work and thoughts of others: even left alone he could only have gone raging on till all was levelled again into a formless chaos. And yet even so he would have been defeated, because it would still have 'existed', independent of his own mind, and a world in potential.

Sauron had never reached this stage of nihilistic madness. He did not object to the existence of the world, so long as he could do what he liked with it. He still had the relics of positive purposes, that descended from the good of the nature in which he began: it had been his virtue (and therefore also the cause of his fall, and of his relapse) that he loved order and coordination, and disliked all confusion and wasteful friction. (It was the apparent will and power of Melkor to effect his designs quickly and masterfully that had first attracted Sauron to him.) Sauron had, in fact, been very like Saruman, and so still understood him quickly and could guess what he would be likely to think and do, even without the aid of *palantíri* or of spies; whereas Gandalf eluded and puzzled him. But like all minds of this cast, Sauron's love (originally) or (later) mere understanding of other individual intelligences was correspondingly weaker; and though the only real good in, or rational motive for, all this ordering and planning and organization was the good of all inhabitants of Arda (even admitting Sauron's right to be their supreme lord), his 'plans', the idea coming from his own isolated mind, became the sole object of his will, and an end, the End, in itself.*

Morgoth had no 'plan': unless destruction and reduction to *nil* of a world in which he had only a *share* can be called a 'plan'. But this is, of course, a simplification of the situation. Sauron had not served Morgoth, even in his last stages, without becoming infected by his lust for destruction, and his hatred of God (which must end in nihilism). Sauron could not, of course, be a 'sincere' atheist. Though

one of the minor spirits created before the world, he knew Eru, according to his measure. He probably deluded himself with the notion that the Valar (including Melkor) having failed, Eru had simply abandoned Eä, or at any rate Arda, and would not concern himself with it any more. It would appear that he interpreted the 'change of the world' at the Downfall of Númenor, when Aman was removed from the physical world, in this sense: Valar (and Elves) were removed from effective control, and Men under God's curse and wrath. If he thought about the *Istari*, especially Saruman and Gandalf, he imagined them as emissaries from the Valar, seeking to establish their lost power again and 'colonize' Middle-earth, as a mere effort of defeated imperialists (without knowledge or sanction of Eru). His cynicism, which (sincerely) regarded the motives of Manwë as precisely the same as his own, seemed fully justified in Saruman. Gandalf he did not understand. But certainly he had already become evil, and therefore stupid, enough to imagine that his different behaviour was due simply to weaker intelligence and lack of firm masterful purpose. He was only a rather cleverer Radagast — cleverer, because it is more profitable (more productive of power) to become absorbed in the study of people than of animals.

Sauron was not a 'sincere' atheist, but he preached atheism, because it weakened resistance to himself (and he had ceased to fear God's action in Arda). As was seen in the case of Ar-Pharazôn. But there was seen the effect of Melkor upon Sauron: he spoke of Melkor in Melkor's own terms: as a god, or even as God. This may have been the residue of a state which was in a sense a shadow of good: the ability once in Sauron at least to admire or admit the superiority of a being other than himself. Melkor, and still more Sauron himself afterwards, both profited by this darkened shadow of good and the services of 'worshippers'. But it may be doubted whether even such a shadow of good was still sincerely operative in Sauron by that time. His cunning motive is probably best expressed thus. To wean one of the God-fearing from their allegiance it is best to propound another *unseen* object of allegiance and another hope of benefits; propound to him a Lord who will sanction what he desires and not forbid it. Sauron, apparently a defeated rival for world-power, now a mere hostage, can hardly propound himself; but as the former servant and disciple of Melkor, the worship of Melkor will raise him from hostage to high priest. But though

Sauron's whole true motive was the destruction of the Númenóreans, this was a particular matter of revenge upon Ar-Pharazôn, for humiliation. Sauron (unlike Morgoth) would have been content for the Númenóreans to exist, *as his own subjects*, and indeed he used a great many of them that he corrupted to his allegiance.

(ii)

No one, not even one of the Valar, can read the mind of other 'equal beings':* that is one cannot 'see' them or comprehend them fully and directly by simple inspection. One can *deduce* much of their thought, from general comparisons leading to conclusions concerning the nature and tendencies of minds and thought, and from particular knowledge of individuals, and special circumstances. But this is no more reading or inspection of another mind than is deduction concerning the contents of a closed room, or events taken place out of sight. Neither is so-called 'thought-transference' a process of mind-reading: this is but the reception, and interpretation by the receiving mind, of the impact of a thought, or thought-pattern, emanating from another mind, which is no more the mind in full or in itself than is the distant sight of a man running the man himself. Minds can exhibit or reveal themselves to other minds by the action of their own wills (though it is doubtful if, even when willing or desiring this, a mind can actually reveal itself wholly to any other mind). It is thus a temptation to minds of greater power to govern or constrain the will of other, and weaker, minds, so as to induce or force them to reveal themselves. But to force such a revelation, or to induce it by any lying or deception, even for supposedly 'good' purposes (including the 'good' of the person so persuaded or dominated), is absolutely forbidden. To do so is a crime, and the 'good' in the purposes of those who commit this crime swiftly becomes corrupted.

Much could thus 'go on behind Manwë's back': indeed the innermost being of all other minds, great and small, was hidden from him. And with regard to the Enemy, Melkor, in particular, he could not penetrate by distant mind-sight his thought and purposes, since Melkor remained in a fixed and powerful will to withhold his mind: which physically expressed took shape in the darkness and

shadows that surrounded him. But Manwë could of course use, and did use, his own great knowledge, his vast experience of things and of persons, his memory of the 'Music', and his own far sight, and the tidings of his messengers.

He, like Melkor, practically never is seen or heard of outside or far away from his own halls and permanent residence. Why is this? For no very profound reason. The Government is always in Whitehall. King Arthur is usually in Camelot or Caerleon, and news and adventures come there and arise there. The 'Elder King' is obviously not going to be finally defeated or destroyed, at least not before some ultimate 'Ragnarök'[1] — which even for us is still in the future, so he can have no real 'adventures'. But, if you keep him *at home*, the issue of any particular event (since it cannot then result in a final 'checkmate') can remain in literary suspense. Even to the final war against Morgoth it is Fionwë son of Manwë who leads out the power of the Valar. When we move out Manwë it will be the last battle, and the end of the World (or of 'Arda Marred') as the Eldar would say.

[Morgoth's staying 'at home' has, as described above, quite a different reason: his fear of being killed or even hurt (the literary motive is not present, for since he is pitted against the Elder King, the issue of any one of his enterprises is always in doubt).]

Melkor 'incarnated' himself (as Morgoth) permanently. He did this so as to control the *hroa*,[2] the 'flesh' or physical matter, of Arda. He attempted to identify himself with it. A vaster, and more perilous, procedure, though of similar sort to the operations of Sauron with the Rings. Thus, outside the Blessed Realm, all 'matter' was likely to have a 'Melkor ingredient',[3] and those who had bodies, nourished by the *hroa* of Arda, had as it were a tendency, small or great, towards Melkor: they were none of them wholly free of him in their incarnate form, and their bodies had an effect upon their spirits.

But in this way Morgoth lost (or exchanged, or transmuted) the greater part of his original 'angelic' powers, of mind and spirit, while gaining a terrible grip upon the physical world. For this reason he *had* to be fought, mainly by physical force, and enormous material ruin was a probable consequence of any direct combat with him, victorious or otherwise. This is the chief explanation of the constant reluctance of the Valar to come into open battle against Morgoth. Manwë's task and problem was much more

difficult than Gandalf's. Sauron's, relatively smaller, power was *concentrated*; Morgoth's vast power was *disseminated*. The whole of 'Middle-earth' was Morgoth's Ring, though temporarily his attention was mainly upon the North-west. Unless swiftly successful, War against him might well end in reducing all Middle-earth to chaos, possibly even all Arda. It is easy to say: 'It was the task and function of the Elder King to govern Arda and make it possible for the Children of Eru to live in it unmolested.' But the dilemma of the Valar was this: Arda could only be liberated by a physical battle; but a probable result of such a battle was the irretrievable ruin of Arda. Moreover, the final eradication of Sauron (as a power directing evil) was achievable by the destruction of the Ring. No such eradication of Morgoth was possible, since this required the complete disintegration of the 'matter' of Arda. Sauron's power was not (for example) in gold as such, but in a particular form or shape made of a particular portion of total gold. Morgoth's power was disseminated throughout Gold, if nowhere absolute (for he did not create Gold) it was nowhere absent. (It was this Morgoth-element in matter, indeed, which was a prerequisite for such 'magic' and other evils as Sauron practised with it and upon it.)

It is quite possible, of course, that certain 'elements' or conditions of matter had attracted Morgoth's special attention (mainly, unless in the remote past, for reasons of his own plans). For example, all gold (in Middle-earth) seems to have had a specially 'evil' trend — but not silver. Water is represented as being almost entirely free of Morgoth. (This, of course, does not mean that any particular sea, stream, river, well, or even vessel of water could not be poisoned or defiled — as all things could.)

(iii)

The Valar 'fade' and become more impotent, precisely in proportion as the shape and constitution of things becomes more defined and settled. The longer the Past, the more nearly defined the Future, and the less room for important change (untrammelled action, on a physical plane, that is not destructive in purpose). The Past, once 'achieved', has become part of the 'Music in being'. Only Eru may or can alter the 'Music'. The last major effort, of this demiurgic kind, made by the Valar was the lifting up of the range of the Pelóri to a great height. It is possible to view this as, if not an actually bad

action, at least as a mistaken one. Ulmo disapproved of it.[4] It had one good, and legitimate, object: the preservation incorrupt of at least a part of Arda. But it seemed to have a selfish or neglectful (or despairing) motive also; for the effort to preserve the Elves incorrupt there had proved a failure if they were to be left free: many had refused to come to the Blessed Realm, many had revolted and left it. Whereas, with regard to Men, Manwë and all the Valar knew quite well that they could not come to Aman at all; and the longevity (co-extensive with the life of Arda) of Valar and Eldar was expressly not permitted to Men. Thus the 'Hiding of Valinor' came near to countering Morgoth's possessiveness by a rival possessiveness, setting up a private domain of light and bliss against one of darkness and domination: a palace and a pleasaunce[5] (well-fenced) against a fortress and a dungeon.[6]

This appearance of selfish *fainéance* in the Valar in the mythology as told is (though I have not explained it or commented on it) I think only an 'appearance', and one which we are apt to accept as the truth, since we are all in some degree affected by the shadow and lies of their Enemy, the Calumniator. It has to be remembered that the 'mythology' is represented as being two stages removed from a true record: it is based first upon Elvish records and lore about the Valar and their own dealings with them; and these have reached us (fragmentarily) only through relics of Númenórean (human) traditions, derived from the Eldar, in the earlier parts, though for later times supplemented by anthropocentric histories and tales.[7] These, it is true, came down through the 'Faithful' and their descendants in Middle-earth, but could not altogether escape the darkening of the picture due to the hostility of the rebellious Númenóreans to the Valar.

Even so, and on the grounds of the stories as received, it is possible to view the matter otherwise. The closing of Valinor against the rebel Noldor (who left it voluntarily and after warning) was in itself just. But, if we dare to attempt to enter the mind of the Elder King, assigning motives and finding faults, there are things to remember before we deliver a judgement. Manwë was the spirit of greatest wisdom and *prudence* in Arda. He is represented as having had the greatest knowledge of the Music, as a whole, possessed by any one finite mind; and he alone of all persons or minds in that time is represented as having the power of *direct* recourse to and communication with Eru. He must have grasped with great clarity

what even we may perceive dimly: that it was the essential mode of the process of 'history' in Arda that evil should constantly arise, and that out of it new good should constantly come. One especial aspect of this is the strange way in which the evils of the Marrer, or his inheritors, are turned into weapons against evil. If we consider the situation after the escape of Morgoth and the reëstablishment of his abode in Middle-earth, we shall see that the heroic Noldor were the best possible weapon with which to keep Morgoth at bay, virtually besieged, and at any rate fully occupied, on the northern fringe of Middle-earth, without provoking him to a frenzy of nihilistic destruction. And in the meanwhile, Men, or the best elements in Mankind, shaking off his shadow, came into contact with a people who had actually seen and experienced the Blessed Realm.

In their association with the warring Eldar Men were raised to their fullest achievable stature, and by the two marriages the transference to them, or infusion into Mankind, of the noblest Elf-strain was accomplished, in readiness for the still distant, but inevitably approaching, days when the Elves would 'fade'.

The last intervention with physical force by the Valar, ending in the breaking of Thangorodrim, may then be viewed as not in fact reluctant or even unduly delayed, but timed with precision. The intervention came before the annihilation of the Eldar and the Edain. Morgoth though locally triumphant had neglected most of Middle-earth during the war; and by it he had in fact been *weakened*: in power and prestige (he had lost and failed to recover one of the Silmarils), and above all in mind. He had become absorbed in 'kingship', and though a tyrant of ogre-size and monstrous power, this was a vast fall even from his former wickedness of hate, and his terrible nihilism. He had fallen to *like* being a tyrant-king with conquered slaves, and vast obedient armies.[8]

The war was successful, and ruin was limited to the small (if beautiful) region of Beleriand. Morgoth was thus actually *made captive in physical form,*[9] and in that form taken as a mere criminal to Aman and delivered to Námo Mandos as judge — and executioner. He was judged, and eventually taken out of the Blessed Realm and *executed*: that is *killed* like one of the Incarnates. It was then made plain (though it must have been understood beforehand by Manwë and Námo) that, though he had 'disseminated' his power (his evil and possessive and rebellious will) far and wide into the

matter of Arda, he had lost direct control of this, and all that 'he', as a surviving remnant of integral being, retained as 'himself' and under control was the terribly shrunken and reduced spirit that inhabited his self-imposed (but now beloved) body. When that body was destroyed he was weak and utterly 'houseless', and for that time at a loss and 'unanchored' as it were. We read that he was then thrust out into the Void.[10] That should mean that he was put outside Time and Space, outside Ëa altogether; but if that were so this would imply a direct intervention of Eru (with or without supplication of the Valar). It may however refer inaccurately* to the extrusion or flight of his spirit from Arda.

In any case, in seeking to absorb or rather to infiltrate himself throughout 'matter', what was then left of him was no longer powerful enough to reclothe itself. (It would now remain *fixed* in the *desire* to do so: there was *no* 'repentance' or possibility of it: Melkor had abandoned for ever all 'spiritual' ambitions, and existed almost solely as a desire to possess and dominate matter, and Arda in particular.) At least it could not *yet* reclothe itself. We need not suppose that Manwë was deluded into supposing that this had been a war to end war, or even to end Melkor. Melkor was not Sauron. We speak of him being 'weakened, shrunken, reduced'; but this is in comparison with the great Valar. He had been a being of immense potency and life. The Elves certainly held and taught that *fëar* or 'spirits' may grow of their own life (independently of the body), even as they may be hurt and healed, be diminished and renewed.[11] The dark spirit of Melkor's 'remainder' might be expected, therefore, eventually and after long ages to increase again, even (as some held) to draw back into itself some of its formerly dissipated power. It would do this (even if Sauron could not) because of its relative greatness. It did not repent, or turn finally away from its obsession, but retained still relics of wisdom, so that it could still seek its object indirectly, and not merely blindly. It would rest, seek to heal itself, distract itself by other thoughts and desires and devices — but all simply to recover enough strength to return to the attack on the Valar, and to its old obsession. As it grew again it would become, as it were, a dark shadow, brooding on the confines of Arda, and yearning towards it.

Nonetheless the breaking of Thangorodrim and the extrusion of Melkor was the end of 'Morgoth' as such, and for that age (and many ages after). It was thus, also, in a sense the end of Manwë's

prime function and task as Elder King, until the End. He had been the Adversary of the Enemy.

It is very reasonable to suppose that Manwë knew that before long (as he saw 'time') the Dominion of Men must begin, and the making of history would then be committed to them: for their struggle with Evil special arrangements had been made! Manwë knew of Sauron, of course. He had commanded Sauron to come before him for judgement, but had left room for repentance and ultimate rehabilitation. Sauron had refused and had fled into hiding. Sauron, however, was a problem that Men had to deal with finally: the first of the many concentrations of Evil into definite power-points that they would have to combat, as it was also the last of those in 'mythological' personalized (but non-human) form.

It may be noted that Sauron's first defeat was achieved by the Númenóreans alone (though Sauron was not in fact overthrown personally: his 'captivity' was voluntary and a trick). In the first overthrow and disembodiment of Sauron in Middle-earth (neglecting the matter of Lúthien)[12]

Here the long version B breaks off, at the foot of a page. I give now the conclusion of version A from the point where the texts diverge (see p. 394 and note 6), beginning with the sentence corresponding to B (p. 401) 'The last major effort, of this demiurgic kind, made by the Valar …

The last effort of this sort made by the Valar was the raising up of the Pelóri — but this was not a good act: it came near to countering Morgoth in his own way — apart from the element of selfishness in its object of preserving Aman as a blissful region to live in.

The Valar were like architects working with a plan 'passed' by the Government. They became less and less important (structurally!) as the plan was more and more nearly achieved. Even in the First Age we see them after uncounted ages of work near the end of their time of work — not wisdom or counsel. (The wiser they became the less power they had to *do* anything - save by counsel.)

Similarly the Elves faded, having introduced 'art and science'.[13] Men will also 'fade', *if* it proves to be the plan that things shall still go on, when they have completed their function. But even the Elves had the notion that this would not be so: that the end of Men would somehow be bound up with the end of history, or as they called it

‘Arda Marred’ (*Arda Sahta*), and the achievement of ‘Arda Healed’ (*Arda Envinyanta*).[14] (They do not seem to have been clear or precise — how should they be! — whether *Arda Envinyanta* was a permanent state of achievement, which could therefore only be enjoyed ‘outside Time’, as it were: surveying the Tale as an englobed whole; or a state of unmarred bliss within Time and in a ‘place’ that was in some sense a lineal and historical descent of our world or ‘Arda Marred’. They seem often to have meant both. ‘Arda Unmarred’ did not actually exist, but remained in thought — Arda without Melkor, or rather without the effects of his becoming evil; but is the source from which all ideas of order and perfection are derived. ‘Arda Healed’ is thus both the completion of the ‘Tale of Arda’ which has taken up all the deeds of Melkor, but must according to the promise of Ilúvatar be seen to be good; and also a state of redress and bliss beyond the ‘circles of the world’.)[15]

Evil is fissiparous. But itself barren. Melkor could not ‘beget’, or have any spouse (though he attempted to ravish Arien, this was to destroy and ‘distain’[16] her, not to beget fiery offspring). Out of the *discords* of the Music — sc. not directly out of either of the themes,[17] Eru’s or Melkor’s, but of their dissonance with regard one to another — evil things appeared in Arda, which did not descend from any direct plan or vision of Melkor: they were *not* ‘his children’; and therefore, since all evil hates, hated him too. The progeniture of things was corrupted. Hence *Orcs*? Part of the Elf-Man idea gone wrong. Though as for Orcs, the Eldar believed Morgoth had actually ‘bred’ them by capturing Men (and Elves) early and increasing to the utmost any corrupt tendencies they possessed.

Despite its incomplete state (whether due to the loss of the conclusion of the fully developed form of the essay or to its abandonment, see note 6) this is the most comprehensive account that my father wrote of how, in his later years, he had come to ‘interpret’ the nature of Evil in his mythology; never elsewhere did he write any such exposition of the nature of Morgoth, of his decline, and of his corruption of Arda, nor draw out the distinction between Morgoth and Sauron: ‘the whole of Middle-earth was Morgoth’s Ring’.

To place this essay in sequential relation to the other ‘philosophical’ or ‘theological’ writings given in this book with any

certainty seems scarcely possible, though ‘Fionwë son of Manwë’ on p. 399 (for ‘Ëonwë herald of Manwë’) may suggest that it stands relatively early among them (see pp. 151–2). It shows a marked likeness in tone to the many letters of exposition that my father wrote in the later 1950s, and indeed it seems to me very possible that the correspondence which followed the publication of *The Lord of the Rings* played a significant part in the development of his examination of the ‘images and events’ of the mythology.[18]

NOTES

1 *Ragnarök:* ‘the Doom of the Gods’ (Old Norse): see IX.286.

2 *hroa*: so written here and at the second occurrence below (and in text A), not as elsewhere always *hröa*, where it means the body of an incarnate being. The word used for ‘physical matter’ in *Laws and Customs* was *hrón,* later changed to *orma* (p. 218 and note 26); in the Commentary on the *Athrabeth* and in the ‘Glossary’ of names the word is *erma* (pp. 338, 349).

3 On this sentence see p. 271.

4 Overt condemnation, strongly expressed, of the Valar for the Hiding of Valinor is found in the story of that name in *The Book of Lost Tales* (I.208–9), but disappears in the later versions. Of the old story I noted (I.223) that ‘in *The Silmarillion* there is no vestige of the tumultuous council, no suggestion of a disagreement among the Valar, with Manwë, Varda and Ulmo actively disapproving the work and holding aloof from it’, and I commented:

> It is most curious to observe that the action of the Valar here sprang essentially from indolence mixed with fear. Nowhere does my father’s early conception of the *fainéant* Gods appear more clearly. He held moreover quite explicitly that their failure to make war upon Melko then and there was a deep error, diminishing themselves, and (as it appears) irreparable. In his later writing the Hiding of Valinor remained indeed, but only as a great fact of mythological antiquity; there is no whisper of its condemnation.

The last words refer to the actual *Silmarillion* narratives. Ulmo’s disapproval now reappears, and is a further evidence of his isolation in the counsels of the Valar (see p. 253 note 11); cf.

his words to Tuor at Vinyamar (having spoken to him, among other things, of 'the hiding of the Blessed Realm', though what he said is not told): 'Therefore, though in the days of this darkness I seem to oppose the will of my brethren, the Lords of the West, that is my part among them, to which I was appointed ere the making of the World' (*Unfinished Tales* p. 29).

5*pleasaunce* (= *pleasance*): a 'pleasure-garden'. My father used this word several times in *The Book of Lost Tales* (see I.275, *pleasance*), for example of the gardens of Lórien.

6At this point my father wrote on the manuscript later: 'See original short form on Fading of Elves (and Men)'. See p. 394. This seems a clear indication that B was not completed, or that if it was its conclusion was early lost.

7Cf. the statement on this subject in the brief text I, p. 370.

8Since this discussion is introduced in justification of the Hiding of Valinor, the bearing of the argument seems to be that the history of Middle-earth in the last centuries of the First Age would not have been possible of achievement had Valinor remained open to the return of the Noldor.

9As, of course, had happened to Melkor long before, after the sack of Utumno.

10Cf. the conclusion of QS (V.332, §29): 'But Morgoth himself the Gods thrust through the Door of Night into the Timeless Void, beyond the Walls of the World'.

11The following was added marginally after the page was written:

> If they do not sink below a certain level. Since no *fëa* can be annihilated, reduced to zero or not-existing, it is no[t] clear what is meant. Thus Sauron was *said* to have fallen below the point of ever recovering, though he had previously recovered. What is probably meant is that a 'wicked' spirit becomes fixed in a certain desire or ambition, and if it cannot repent then this desire becomes virtually its whole being. But the desire may be wholly beyond the weakness it has fallen to, and it will then be unable to withdraw its attention from the unobtainable desire, even to attend to itself. It will then remain for ever in impotent desire or memory of desire.

12A reference to the legend of the defeat of Sauron by Lúthien and Huan on the isle of Tol-in-Gaurhoth, where Beren was imprisoned (*The Silmarillion* pp. 174–5).

13Cf. *Letters* no.181 (1956): ‘In this mythological world the Elves and Men are in their incarnate forms kindred, but in the relation of their “spirits” to the world in time represent different “experiments”, each of which has its own natural trend, and weakness. The Elves represent, as it were, the artistic, aesthetic, and purely scientific aspects of the Humane nature raised to a higher level than is actually seen in Men.’

14In the text FM 2 of ‘Finwë and Míriel’ (p. 254, footnote) ‘Arda Marred’ is *Arda Hastaina. Arda Envinyanta*, at both occurrences, was first written *Arda Vincarna.*

15With this passage in brackets cf. especially note (iii) at the end of *Laws and Customs* (p. 251); also pp. 245, 254 (footnote), 318.

16*distain*: an archaic verb meaning ‘stain’, ‘discolour’, ‘defile’.

17The Three Themes of Ilúvatar in the Music of the Ainur are here treated as a single theme, in opposition to the discordant ‘theme’ of Melkor.

18In a letter of June 1957 (*Letters* no.200) he wrote:

> I am sorry if this all seems dreary and ‘pompose’. But so do all attempts to ‘explain’ the images and events of a mythology. Naturally the stories come first. But it is, I suppose, some test of the consistency of a mythology as such, if it is capable of some sort of rational or rationalized explanation.

VIII

In the last sentence of the original short version of text VII (p. 406) my father wrote that the Eldar believed that Morgoth bred the Orcs ‘by capturing Men (and Elves) early’ (i.e. in the early days of their existence). This indicates that his views on this subject had changed since the *Annals of Aman.* For the theory of the origin of the Orcs as it stood, in point of written record in the narratives,1 at this time see AAm §42–5 (pp. 72–4, and commentary p. 78), and §127 (pp. 109–10, and commentary pp. 123–4). In the final form in AAm (p. 74) ‘this is held true by the wise of Eressëa’:

> all those of the Quendi that came into the hands of Melkor, ere Utumno was broken, were put there in prison, and by slow arts of cruelty and wickedness were corrupted and enslaved. Thus did Melkor breed the hideous race of the Orkor in envy and mockery of the Eldar, of whom they were afterwards the bitterest foes. For the Orkor had life and multiplied after the manner of the Children of Ilúvatar; and naught that

had life of its own, nor the semblance thereof, could ever Melkor make since his rebellion in the Ainulindalë before the Beginning: so say the wise.

On the typescript of AAm my father noted against the account of the origin of the Orcs: ‘Alter this. Orcs are not Elvish’ (p. 80).

The present text, entitled ‘Orcs’, is a short essay (very much a record of ‘thinking with the pen’) found in the same small collection gathered in a newspaper of 1959 as texts III and VI. Like them it was written on Merton College papers of 1955; and like text VI it makes reference to ‘Finrod and Andreth’ (see pp. 385, 390).

Orcs

Their nature and origin require more thought. They are not easy to work into the theory and system.

(1) As the case of Aulë and the Dwarves shows, only Eru could make creatures with independent wills, and with reasoning powers. But Orcs seem to have both: they can try to cheat Morgoth / Sauron, rebel against him, or criticize him.

(2) ? Therefore they must be *corruptions* of something pre-existing.

(3) But Men had not yet appeared, when the Orcs already existed. Aulë constructed the Dwarves out of his memory of the Music; but Eru would not sanction the work of Melkor so as to allow the independence of the Orcs. (Not unless Orcs were ultimately remediable, or could be amended and ‘saved’?)

It also seems clear (see ‘Finrod and Andreth’) that though Melkor could utterly corrupt and ruin individuals, it is not possible to contemplate his absolute perversion of a whole people, or group of peoples, and *his making that state heritable*.[2] [*Added later:* This latter must (if a fact) be an act of Eru.]

In that case Elves, as a source, are very unlikely. And are Orcs ‘immortal’, in the Elvish sense? Or trolls? It seems clearly implied in *The Lord of the Rings* that trolls existed in their own right, but were ‘tinkered’ with by Melkor.[3]

(4) What of talking beasts and birds with reasoning and speech? These have been rather lightly adopted from less ‘serious’ mythologies, but play a part which cannot now be excised. They are certainly ‘exceptions’ and not much used, but sufficiently to show they are a recognized feature of the world. All other creatures

accept them as natural if not common.

But true 'rational' creatures, 'speaking peoples', are all of human / 'humanoid' form. Only the Valar and Maiar are intelligences that can assume forms of Arda at will. Huan and Sorontar could be Maiar — emissaries of Manwë.[4] But unfortunately in *The Lord of the Rings* Gwaehir and Landroval are said to be *descendants* of Sorontar.[5]

In any case is it likely or possible that even the least of the Maiar would become Orcs? Yes: both outside Arda and in it, before the fall of Utumno. Melkor had corrupted many spirits — some great, as Sauron, or less so, as Balrogs. The least could have been primitive (and much more powerful and perilous) Orcs; but by practising when embodied procreation they would (cf. Melian) [become] more and more earthbound, unable to return to spirit-state (even demon-form), until released by death (killing), and they would dwindle in force. When released they would, of course, like Sauron, be 'damned': i.e. reduced to impotence, infinitely recessive: still hating but unable more and more to make it effective physically (or would not a very dwindled dead Orc-state be a poltergeist?).

But again — would Eru provide *fëar* for such creatures? For the Eagles etc. perhaps. But not for Orcs.[6]

It does however seem best to view Melkor's corrupting power as always starting, at least, in the moral or theological level. Any creature that took him for Lord (and especially those who blasphemously called him Father or Creator) became soon corrupted in all parts of its being, the *fëa* dragging down the *hröa* in its descent into Morgothism: hate and destruction. As for Elves being 'immortal': they in fact only had enormously long lives, and were themselves physically 'wearing out', and suffering a slow progressive weakening of their bodies.

In summary: I think it must be assumed that 'talking' is not necessarily the sign of the possession of a 'rational soul' or *fëa*.[7] The Orcs were *beasts* of humanized shape (to mock Men and Elves) deliberately perverted / converted into a more close resemblance to Men. Their 'talking' was really reeling off 'records' set in them by Melkor. Even their rebellious critical words — he knew about them. Melkor taught them *speech* and as they bred they inherited this; and they had just as much independence as have, say, dogs or horses of their human masters. This talking was largely echoic (cf. parrots).

In *The Lord of the Rings* Sauron is said to have *devised a language* for them.[8]

The same sort of thing may be said of Húan and the Eagles: they were taught language by the Valar, and raised to a higher level — but they still had no *fëar*.

But Finrod probably went too far in his assertion that Melkor *could not* wholly corrupt any work of Eru, or that Eru would (necessarily) interfere to abrogate the corruption, or to end the being of His own creatures because they had been corrupted and fallen into evil.[9]

It remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs.[10] These may then even have been mated with beasts (sterile!) — and later Men. Their life-span would be diminished. And dying they would go to Mandos and be held in prison till the End.

The text as written ends here, but my father subsequently added the following passage. The words with which it opens are a reference to text VI, *Melkor Morgoth* (p. 390).

See 'Melkor'. It will there be seen that the *wills* of Orcs and Balrogs etc. are part of Melkor's power 'dispersed'. Their spirit is one of hate. But hate is non-coöperative (except under direct fear). Hence the rebellions, mutinies, etc. when Morgoth seems far off. Orcs are beasts and Balrogs corrupted Maiar. Also (n.b.) Morgoth not Sauron is the source of Orc-wills. Sauron is just another (if greater) agent. Orcs can rebel against him without losing their own irremediable allegiance to evil (Morgoth). *Aulë* wanted love. But of course had no thought of dispersing his power. Only Eru can give *love and independence.* If a finite sub-creator tries to do this he really wants absolute loving obedience, but it turns into robotic servitude and becomes evil.

NOTES

1 In a long letter to Peter Hastings of September 1954, which was not sent (*Letters* no. 153), my father wrote as follows on the question of whether Orcs 'could have "souls" or "spirits"':

> … since in my myth at any rate I do not conceive of the making of souls or spirits, things of an equal order if not an equal power to the Valar, as a possible 'delegation', I have

represented at least the Orcs as pre-existing real beings on whom the Dark Lord has exerted the fullness of his power in remodelling and corrupting them, not making them.… There might be other 'makings' all the same which were more like puppets filled (only at a distance) with their maker's mind and will, or ant-like operating under direction of a queen-centre.

Earlier in this letter he had quoted Frodo's words to Sam in the chapter 'The Tower of Cirith Ungol': 'The Shadow that bred them can only mock, it cannot make: not real new things of its own. I don't think it gave life to the orcs, it only ruined them and twisted them'; and he went on: 'In the legends of the Elder Days it is suggested that the Diabolus subjugated and corrupted some of the earliest Elves …' He also said that the Orcs 'are fundamentally a race of "rational incarnate" creatures'.

2 In the *Athrabeth* (p. 312) Finrod declared:

> But never even in the night have we believed that [Melkor] could prevail against the Children of Eru. This one he might cozen, or that one he might corrupt; but to change the doom of a whole people of the Children, to rob them of their inheritance: if he could do that in Eru's despite, then greater and more terrible is he by far than we guessed …

3 In *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix F (I) it is said of Trolls:

> In their beginning far back in the twilight of the Elder Days, these were creatures of dull and lumpish nature and had no more language than beasts. But Sauron had made use of them, teaching them what little they could learn, and increasing their wits with wickedness.

In the long letter of September 1954 cited in note 1 he wrote of them:

> I am not sure about Trolls. I think they are mere 'counterfeits', and hence (though here I am of course only using elements of old barbarous mythmaking that had no 'aware' metaphysic) they return to mere stone images when not in the dark. But there are other sorts of Trolls beside these rather ridiculous, if brutal, Stone-trolls, for which other origins are suggested. Of course … when you make Trolls *speak* you are giving them a power, which in our world (probably) connotes the possession of a 'soul'.

4 See p. 138. — At the bottom of the page bearing the brief text V

(p. 389) my father jotted down the following, entirely unconnected with the matter of the text:

> Living things in Aman. As the Valar would robe themselves like the Children, many of the Maiar robed themselves like other lesser living things, as trees, flowers, beasts. (Huan.)

5 'There came Gwaihir the Windlord, and Landroval his brother, greatest of all the Eagles of the North, mightiest of the descendants of old Thorondor' ('The Field of Cormallen' in *The Return of the King*).

6 At this point there is a note that begins 'Criticism of (1) (2) (3) above' (i.e. the opening points of this text, p. 409) and then refers obscurely to the 'last battle and fall of Barad-dûr etc.' in *The Lord of the Rings*. In view of what follows my father was presumably thinking of this passage in the chapter 'Mount Doom':

> From all his policies and webs of fear and treachery, from all his stratagems and wars his mind shook free; and throughout his realm a tremor ran, his slaves quailed, and his armies halted, and his captains suddenly steerless, bereft of will, wavered and despaired. For they were forgotten.

The note continues:

> They had little or no *will* when not actually 'attended to' by the mind of Sauron. Does their cheating and rebellion pass that possible to such animals as dogs etc.?

7 Cf. the end of the passage cited from the letter of 1954 in note 3.

8 Appendix F (I): 'It is said that the Black Speech was devised by Sauron in the Dark Years'.

9 See the citation from the *Athrabeth* in note 2. Finrod did not in fact assert the latter part of the opinion here attributed to him.

10 The assertion that 'it remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs' seems merely to contradict what has been said about their being no more than 'talking beasts' without advancing any new considerations. In the passage added at the end of the text the statement that 'Orcs are beasts' is repeated.

IX

This is another and quite separate note on the origin of the Orcs, written quickly in pencil, and without any indication of date.

This suggests — though it is not explicit — that the ‘Orcs’ were of Elvish origin. Their origin is more clearly dealt with elsewhere. One point only is certain: Melkor could not ‘create’ living ‘creatures’ of independent wills.

He (and all the ‘spirits’ of the ‘First-created’, according to their measure) could assume bodily shapes; and he (and they) could dominate the minds of other creatures, including Elves and Men, by force, fear, or deceits, or sheer magnificence.

The Elves from their earliest times invented and used a word or words with a base (*o*)*rok* to denote anything that caused fear and/or horror. It would originally have been applied to ‘phantoms’ (spirits assuming visible forms) as well as to any independently existing creatures. Its application (in all Elvish tongues) specifically to the creatures called *Orks* — so I shall spell it in *The Silmarillion* — was later.

Since Melkor could not ‘create’ an independent species, but had immense powers of corruption and distortion of those that came into his power, it is probable that these *Orks* had a mixed origin. Most of them plainly (and biologically) were corruptions of Elves (and probably later also of Men). But always among them (as special servants and spies of Melkor, and as leaders) there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes. (These would exhibit terrifying and demonic characters.)

The Elves would have classed the creatures called ‘trolls’ (in *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) as Orcs — in character and origin — but they were larger and slower. It would seem evident that they were corruptions of primitive human types.

At the bottom of the page my father wrote: ‘See *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix p. 410’; this is the passage in Appendix F concerning Trolls.

It seems possible that his opening words in this note ‘This suggests — though it is not explicit — that the “Orcs” were of Elvish origin’ actually refer to the previous text given here, VIII, where he first wrote that ‘Elves, as a source, are very unlikely’, but later concluded that ‘it remains therefore terribly possible there was an Elvish strain in the Orcs’. But if this is so, the following words ‘Their origin is more clearly dealt with elsewhere’ must refer to something else.

He now expressly asserts the earlier view (see p. 408 and note 1) that the Orcs were in origin corrupted Elves, but observes that 'later' some were probably derived from Men. In saying this (as the last paragraph and the reference to *The Lord of the Rings* Appendix F suggest) he seems to have been thinking of Trolls, and specifically of the *Olog-hai*, the great Trolls who appeared at the end of the Third Age (as stated in Appendix F): 'That Sauron bred them none doubted, though from what stock was not known. Some held that they were not Trolls but giant Orcs; but the Olog-hai were in fashion of body and mind quite unlike even the largest of Orc-kind, whom they far surpassed in size and power.'

The conception that among the Orcs 'there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes' appears also in text VIII (p. 410): 'Melkor had corrupted many spirits — some great, as Sauron, or less so, as Balrogs. The least could have been primitive (and much more powerful and perilous) Orcs'.

X

I give here a text of an altogether different kind, a very finished essay on the origin of the Orcs. It is necessary to explain something of the relations of this text.

There is a major work, which I hope to publish in *The History of Middle-earth*, entitled *Essekenta Eldarinwa* or *Quendi and Eldar*. It is extant in a good typescript made by my father on his later typewriter, both in top copy and carbon; and it is preceded in both copies by a manuscript page which describes the content of the work:

> Enquiry into the origins of the Elvish names for Elves and their varieties clans and divisions: with Appendices on their names for the other Incarnates: Men, Dwarves, and Orcs; and on their analysis of their own language, Quenya: with a note on the 'Language of the Valar'.

With the appendices *Quendi and Eldar* runs to nearly fifty closely typed pages, and being a highly finished and lucid work is of the utmost interest.

To one of the title pages my father subjoined the following:

> To which is added an abbreviation of the *Ósanwe-*

kenta or ‘Communication of Thought’ that Pengolodh set at the end of his *Lammas* or ‘Account of Tongues’

This is a separate work of eight typescript pages, separately paginated, but found together with both copies of *Quendi and Eldar*. In addition, and not referred to on the title-pages, there is a further typescript of four pages (also found with both copies of *Quendi and Eldar*) entitled *Orcs*; and this is the text given here.

All three elements are identical in general appearance, but *Orcs* stands apart from the others, having no linguistic bearing; and in view of this I have thought it legitimate to abstract it and print it in this book together with the other discussions of the origin of the Orcs given as texts VIII and IX.

As to the date of this complex, one of the copies is preserved in a folded newspaper of March 1960. On this my father wrote: ‘“Quendi and Eldar” with Appendices’; beneath is a brief list of the Appendices, the items all written at the same time, which includes both *Ósanwe* and *Origin of Orcs* (the same is true of the cover of the other copy of the *Quendi and Eldar* complex). All the material was thus in being when the newspaper was used for this purpose, and although, as in other similar cases, this does not provide a perfectly certain *terminus ad quem*, there seems no reason to doubt that it belongs to 1959–60 (cf. p. 304).

Appendix C to *Quendi and Eldar*, ‘Elvish Names for the Orcs’, is primarily concerned with etymology, but it opens with the following passage:

It is not here the place to debate the question of the origin of the Orcs. They were bred by Melkor, and their breeding was the most wicked and lamentable of his works in Arda, but not the most terrible. For clearly they were meant in his malice to be a mockery of the Children of Ilúvatar, wholly subservient to his will, and nursed in an unappeasable hatred of Elves and Men.

The Orcs of the later wars, after the escape of Melkor-Morgoth and his return to Middle-earth, were neither spirits nor phantoms, but living creatures, capable of speech and of some crafts and organization, or at least capable of learning such things from higher creatures or from their Master. They bred and multiplied rapidly whenever left undisturbed. It is unlikely, as a consideration of the ultimate origin of this race would make clearer, that the Quendi had met any Orcs of this kind, before their finding by Oromë and the separation of Eldar and Avari.

But it is known that Melkor had become aware of the Quendi before the Valar began their war against him, and the joy of the Elves in Middle-earth had already been darkened by shadows of fear. Dreadful shapes had begun to haunt the borders of their dwellings, and some of their people vanished into the darkness and were heard of no more. Some of these things may have been phantoms and delusions; but some were, no doubt, shapes taken by the servants of Melkor, mocking and degrading the very forms of the Children. For Melkor had in his service great numbers of the Maiar, who had the power, as had their Master, of taking visible and tangible shape in Arda.

No doubt my father was led from his words here ‘It is unlikely, as a consideration of the ultimate origin of this race would make clearer, that the Quendi had met any Orcs of this kind, before their finding by Oromë’ to write that ‘consideration’ which follows here. It will be seen that one passage of this initial statement was re-used.

Orcs

The origin of the Orcs is a matter of debate. Some have called them the *Melkorohíni*, the Children of Melkor; but the wiser say: nay, the slaves of Melkor, but not his children; for Melkor had no children.[1] Nonetheless, it was by the malice of Melkor that the Orcs arose, and plainly they were meant by him to be a mockery of the Children of Eru, being bred to be wholly subservient to his will and filled with unappeasable hatred of Elves and Men.

Now the Orcs of the later wars, after the escape of Melkor-Morgoth and his return to Middle-earth, were not ‘spirits’, nor phantoms, but living creatures, capable of speech and some crafts and organization; or at least capable of learning these things from higher creatures and from their Master. They bred and multiplied rapidly, whenever left undisturbed. So far as can be gleaned from the legends that have come down to us from our earliest days,[2] it would seem that the Quendi had never yet encountered any Orcs of this kind before the coming of Oromë to Cuiviénen.

Those who believe that the Orcs were bred from some kind of Men, captured and perverted by Melkor, assert that it was impossible for the Quendi to have known of Orcs before the Separation and the departure of the Eldar. For though the time of the awakening of Men is not known, even the calculations of the

loremasters that place it earliest do not assign it a date long before the Great March began,[3] certainly not long enough before it to allow for the corruption of Men into Orcs. On the other hand, it is plain that soon after his return Morgoth had at his command a great number of these creatures, with whom he ere long began to attack the Elves. There was still less time between his return and these first assaults for the breeding of Orcs and for the transfer of their hosts westward.

This view of the origin of the Orcs thus meets with difficulties of chronology. But though Men may take comfort in this, the theory remains nonetheless the most probable. It accords with all that is known of Melkor, and of the nature and behaviour of Orcs — and of Men. Melkor was impotent to produce any living thing, but skilled in the corruption of things that did not proceed from himself, if he could dominate them. But if he had indeed attempted to make creatures of his own in imitation or mockery of the Incarnates, he would, like Aulë, only have succeeded in producing puppets: his creatures would have acted only while the attention of his will was upon them, and they would have shown no reluctance to execute any command of his, even if it were to destroy themselves.

But the Orcs were not of this kind. They were certainly dominated by their Master, but his dominion was by fear, and they were aware of this fear and hated him. They were indeed so corrupted that they were pitiless, and there was no cruelty or wickedness that they would not commit; but this was the corruption of independent wills, and they took pleasure in their deeds. They were capable of acting on their own, doing evil deeds unbidden for their own sport; or if Morgoth and his agents were far away, they might neglect his commands. They sometimes fought [> They hated one another and often fought] among themselves, to the detriment of Morgoth's plans.

Moreover, the Orcs continued to live and breed and to carry on their business of ravaging and plundering after Morgoth was overthrown. They had other characteristics of the Incarnates also. They had languages of their own, and spoke among themselves in various tongues according to differences of breed that were discernible among them. They needed food and drink, and rest, though many were by training as tough as Dwarves in enduring hardship. They could be slain, and they were subject to disease; but apart from these ills they died and were not immortal, even

according to the manner of the Quendi; indeed they appear to have been by nature short-lived compared with the span of Men of higher race, such as the Edain.

This last point was not well understood in the Elder Days. For Morgoth had many servants, the oldest and most potent of whom were immortal, belonging indeed in their beginning to the Maiar; and these evil spirits like their Master could take on visible forms. Those whose business it was to direct the Orcs often took Orkish shapes, though they were greater and more terrible.[4] Thus it was that the histories speak of Great Orcs or Orc-captains who were not slain, and who reappeared in battle through years far longer than the span of the lives of Men.[*5]

Finally, there is a cogent point, though horrible to relate. It became clear in time that undoubted Men could under the domination of Morgoth or his agents in a few generations be reduced almost to the Orc-level of mind and habits; and then they would or could be made to mate with Orcs, producing new breeds, often larger and more cunning. There is no doubt that long afterwards, in the Third Age, Saruman rediscovered this, or learned of it in lore, and in his lust for mastery committed this, his wickedest deed: the interbreeding of Orcs and Men, producing both Men-orcs large and cunning, and Orc-men treacherous and vile.

But even before this wickedness of Morgoth was suspected the Wise in the Elder Days taught always that the Orcs were not 'made' by Melkor, and therefore were not in their origin evil. They might have become irredeemable (at least by Elves and Men), but they remained within the Law. That is, that though of necessity, being the fingers of the hand of Morgoth, they must be fought with the utmost severity, they must not be dealt with in their own terms of cruelty and treachery. Captives must not be tormented, not even to discover information for the defence of the homes of Elves and Men. If any Orcs surrendered and asked for mercy, they must be granted it, even at a cost.[*] This was the teaching of the Wise, though in the horror of the War it was not always heeded.

It is true, of course, that Morgoth held the Orcs in dire thraldom; for in their corruption they had lost almost all possibility of resisting the domination of his will. So great indeed did its pressure upon them become ere Angband fell that, if he turned his thought towards them, they were conscious of his 'eye' wherever they might be; and when Morgoth was at last removed from Arda the Orcs that

survived in the West were scattered, leaderless and almost witless, and were for a long time without control or purpose.

This servitude to a central will that reduced the Orcs almost to an ant-like life was seen even more plainly in the Second and Third Ages under the tyranny of Sauron, Morgoth's chief lieutenant. Sauron indeed achieved even greater control over his Orcs than Morgoth had done. He was, of course, operating on a smaller scale, and he had no enemies so great and so fell as were the Noldor in their might in the Elder Days. But he had also inherited from those days difficulties, such as the diversity of the Orcs in breed and language, and the feuds among them; while in many places in Middle-earth, after the fall of Thangorodrim and during the concealment of Sauron, the Orcs recovering from their helplessness had set up petty realms of their own and had become accustomed to independence. Nonetheless Sauron in time managed to unite them all in unreasoning hatred of the Elves and of Men who associated with them; while the Orcs of his own trained armies were so completely under his will that they would sacrifice themselves without hesitation at his command.* And he proved even more skilful than his Master also in the corruption of Men who were beyond the reach of the Wise, and in reducing them to a vassalage, in which they would march with the Orcs, and vie with them in cruelty and destruction.

It is thus probably to Sauron that we may look for a solution of the problem of chronology. Though of immensely smaller native power than his Master, he remained less corrupt, cooler and more capable of calculation. At least in the Elder Days, and before he was bereft of his lord and fell into the folly of imitating him, and endeavouring to become himself supreme Lord of Middle-earth. While Morgoth still stood, Sauron did not seek his own supremacy, but worked and schemed for another, desiring the triumph of Melkor, whom in the beginning he had adored. He thus was often able to achieve things, first conceived by Melkor, which his master did not or could not complete in the furious haste of his malice.

We may assume, then, that the idea of breeding the Orcs came from Melkor, not at first maybe so much for the provision of servants or the infantry of his wars of destruction, as for the defilement of the Children and the blasphemous mockery of the designs of Eru. The details of the accomplishment of this wickedness were, however, left mainly to the subtleties of Sauron.

In that case the conception in mind of the Orcs may go far back into the night of Melkor's thought, though the beginning of their actual breeding must await the awakening of Men.

When Melkor was made captive, Sauron escaped and lay hid in Middle-earth; and it can in this way be understood how the breeding of the Orcs (no doubt already begun) went on with increasing speed during the age when the Noldor dwelt in Aman; so that when they returned to Middle-earth they found it already infested with this plague, to the torment of all that dwelt there, Elves or Men or Dwarves. It was Sauron, also, who secretly repaired Angband for the help of his Master when he returned;[6] and there the dark places underground were already manned with hosts of the Orcs before Melkor came back at last, as Morgoth the Black Enemy, and sent them forth to bring ruin upon all that was fair. And though Angband has fallen and Morgoth is removed, still they come forth from the lightless places in the darkness of their hearts, and the earth is withered under their pitiless feet.

This then, as it may appear, was my father's final view of the question: Orcs were bred from Men, and if 'the conception in mind of the Orcs may go far back into the night of Melkor's thought' it was Sauron who, during the ages of Melkor's captivity in Aman, brought into being the black armies that were available to his Master when he returned.

But, as always, it is not quite so simple. Accompanying one copy of the typescript of this essay are some pages in manuscript for which my father used the blank reverse sides of papers provided by the publishers dated 10 November 1969. These pages carry two notes on the 'Orcs' essay: one, discussing the spelling of the word *orc*, is given on p. 422; the other is a note arising from something in the essay which is not indicated, but which is obviously the passage on p. 417 discussing the puppet-like nature inevitable in creatures brought into being by one of the great Powers themselves: the note was intended to stand in relation to the words 'But the Orcs were not of this kind'.

The *orks*, it is true, sometimes appear to have been reduced to a condition very similar, though there remains actually a profound difference. Those *orks* who dwelt long under the immediate attention of his will — as garrisons of his strongholds or elements of armies trained for special purposes in his war-designs — would act

like herds, obeying instantly, as if with one will, his commands even if ordered to sacrifice their lives in his service. And as was seen when Morgoth was at last overthrown and cast out, those *orks* that had been so absorbed scattered helplessly, without purpose either to flee or to fight, and soon died or slew themselves.

Other originally independent creatures, and Men among them (but neither Elves nor Dwarves), could also be reduced to a like condition. But 'puppets', with no independent life or will, would simply cease to move or do anything at all when the will of their maker was brought to nothing. In any case the number of *orks* that were thus 'absorbed' was always only a small part of their total. To hold them in absolute servitude required a great expense of will. Morgoth though in origin possessed of vast power was finite; and it was this expenditure upon the *orks*, and still more upon the other far more formidable creatures in his service, that in the event so dissipated his powers of mind that Morgoth's overthrow became possible. Thus the greater part of the *orks*, though under his orders and the dark shadow of their fear of him, were only intermittently objects of his immediate thought and concern, and while that was removed they relapsed into independence and became conscious of their hatred of him and his tyranny. Then they might neglect his orders, or engage in

Here the text breaks off. But the curious thing is that rough drafting for the second paragraph of this note (written on the same paper bearing the same date) begins thus:

But Men could (and can still) be reduced to such a condition. 'Puppets' would simply cease to move or 'live' at all, when not set in motion by the direct will of their maker. In any case, though the number of orks at the height of Morgoth's power, and *still after his return from captivity*, seems to have been very great, those who were 'absorbed' were always a small part of the total.

The words that I have italicised deny an essential conception of the essay.

The other note reads thus:

Orcs

This spelling was taken from Old English. The word seemed, in itself, very suitable to the creatures that I had in mind. But the Old

English *orc* in meaning — so far as that is known — is not suitable.[7] Also the spelling of what, in the later more organized linguistic situation, must have been a Common Speech form of a word or group of similar words should be *ork*. If only because of spelling difficulties in modern English: an adjective *orc* + *ish* becomes necessary, and *orcish* will not do.[8] In any future publication I shall use *ork*.

In text IX (the brief writing in which my father declared the theory of Elvish origin to be certain) he spelt the word *Orks*, and said 'so I shall spell it in *The Silmarillion'*. In the present essay, obviously later than text IX, it is spelt *Orcs;* but now, in 1969 or later, he asserted again that it must be *Orks*.

NOTES

1 See text VII, p. 406. — On one copy of the text my father pencilled against this sentence the names *Erusēni*, *Melkorsēni*.

2 'legends that have come down to us from our earliest days': this purports then to be an Elvish writing. Sauron is spoken of subsequently as a being of the past ('This servitude to a central will … was seen even more plainly in the Second and Third Ages under the tyranny of Sauron', p. 419); but in the last sentence of the essay the Orcs are a plague that still afflicts the world.

3 The time of the Awakening of Men is now placed far back; cf. text II (p. 378): 'The March of the Eldar is through great Rains? Men awake in an Isle amid the floods'; 'The coming of Men will therefore be much further back'; 'Men must awake while Melkor is still in [Middle-earth] — because of their Fall. Therefore in some period during the Great March' (see p. 385 note 14). In the chronology of the *Annals of Aman* and the *Grey Annals* the Great March began in the Year of the Trees 1105 (p. 82), and the foremost companies of the Eldar came to the shores of the Great Sea in 1125; Men awoke in Hildórien in the year of the first rising of the Sun, which was the Year of the Trees 1500. Thus if the Awakening of Men is placed even very late in the period of the Great March of the Eldar it will be set back by more than 3500 Years of the Sun. See further p. 430 note 5.

4 Cf. text IX, p. 414: 'But always among them [Orcs] (as special

servants and spies of Melkor, and as leaders) there must have been numerous corrupted minor spirits who assumed similar bodily shapes'; also text VIII, p. 410.

5The footnote at this point, stating that '*Boldog*, for instance, is a name that occurs many times in the tales of the War', and was perhaps not a personal name, is curious. *Boldog* appears several times in the *Lay of Leithian* as the name of the Orc-captain who led a raid into Doriath (references in the Index to *The Lays of Beleriand*); he reappears in the *Quenta* (IV.113), but is not mentioned thereafter. I do not know of any other reference to an Orc named *Boldog*.

6On the later story that Angband was built by Melkor in the ancient days and that it was commanded by Sauron see p. 156, §12. There has been no reference to the repairing of Angband against Morgoth's return, and cf. the last narrative development in the *Quenta Silmarillion* of the story of his return (p. 295, §14): Morgoth and Ungoliant 'were drawing near to the ruins of Angband where his great western stronghold had been.'

7See p. 124.

8'*orcish* will not do': because it would be pronounced 'orsish'. The *Orkish* language was so spelt in *The Lord of the Rings* from the First Edition.

XI

This concluding text, entitled *Aman*, is a clear manuscript written with little hesitation or correction. I had regarded it as an independent essay, and in doubt where best to place it had left it to the end; but when this book had been fully completed and prepared for publication I realised that it stands in fact in very close relationship to the manuscript of *Athrabeth Finrod ah Andreth*.

That manuscript opens with an introductory section (given in the typescript version that my father subsequently made, pp. 304–5), beginning with the statement that some Men believed that their *hröar* were not by nature short-lived, but had become so by the malice of Melkor. I had not observed the significance of some lines at the head of this first page of the *Athrabeth*, which my father had struck through: these lines begin with the words 'the *hröa*, and it would live on, a witless body, not even a beast but a monster', and

end '… Death itself, in either agony or horror, would with Men enter into Aman itself.' Now this passage is virtually identical to the conclusion of the present text, the last page of which begins at precisely the same point.

It is clear, therefore, that *Aman* originally led into the *Athrabeth*, but that my father removed it to stand alone and copied out the concluding passage on a separate sheet. At the same time, presumably, he gave the remainder (the *Athrabeth* and its introduction) the titles *Of Death and the Children of Eru, and the Marring of Men* and *The Converse of Finrod and Andreth.*[1]

It might have been preferable to place *Aman* with the *Athrabeth* in Part Four; but I thought it unnecessary at such a late stage to embark on a major upheaval of the structure of the book, and so left it to stand separately here.

Aman

In Aman things were far otherwise than in Middle-earth. But they resembled the mode of Elvish life, just as the Elves more nearly resemble the Valar and Maiar than do Men.

In Aman the length of the unit of 'year' was the same as it was for the Quendi. But for a different reason. In Aman this length was assigned by the Valar for their own purposes, and was related to that process which may be called the 'Ageing of Arda'. For Aman was within Arda and therefore within the Time of Arda (which was not eternal, whether Unmarred or Marred). Therefore Arda and all things in it must age, however slowly, as it proceeds from beginning to end. This ageing could be perceived by the Valar in about that length of time (proportionate to the whole of Arda's appointed span) which they called a Year; but not in a less period.[2]

But as for the Valar themselves, and the Maiar also in their degree: they could live at any speed of thought or motion which they chose or desired.*[3]

* They could move backward or forward in thought, and return again so swiftly that to those who were in their presence they did not appear to have moved. All that was past they could fully perceive; but being now in Time the future they could only perceive or explore in so far as its design was made clear to them in the Music, or as each one of them was specially concerned with this or that part of Eru's design, being His

agent or Subcreator. In this way of perception they could foresee none of the acts of the Children, Elves and Men, in whose conceiving and introduction into Ea none of the Valar had played any part at all; concerning the Children they could only deduce likelihood, in the same way as can the Children themselves, though from a far greater knowledge of facts and the contributory events of the past, and with far greater intelligence and wisdom. Yet there always remained an uncertainty with regard to the words and deeds of Elves and Men in Time not yet unfolded.

The unit, or Valian Year, was thus not in Aman related to the natural rates of 'growth' of any person or thing that dwelt there. Time in Aman was actual time, not merely a mode of perception. As, say, 100 years went by in Middle-earth as part of Arda, so 100 years passed in Aman, which was also a part of Arda. It was, however, the fact that the Elvish speed of 'growth' accorded with the unit of Valian time† that made it possible for the Valar to bring the Eldar to dwell in Aman.

† Not by the design of the Valar, though doubtless not by chance. That is, it may be that Eru in designing the natures of Elves and Men and their relations one to another and to the Valar ordained that the 'growth' of the Elves should accord with the Valian perception of the progress or ageing of Arda, so that the Elves should be able to cohabit with the Valar and Maiar. Since the Children appeared in the Music, and also in the Vision, the Valar knew something or indeed much of the ordained natures of Elves and Men before they came into existence. They knew certainly that Elves should be 'immortal' or of very long life, and Men of brief life. But it was probably only during the sojourn of Oromë among the fathers of the Quendi that the Valar discovered precisely what was the mode of their lives with regard to the lapse of Time.

In one Valian year the Eldar dwelling there grew and developed in much the same way as mortals did in one year upon Middle-earth. In recording the events in Aman, therefore, we may as did the Eldar themselves use the Valian unit,[4] though we must not forget that within any such 'year' the Eldar enjoyed an immense series of delights and achievements which even the most gifted of Men could

not accomplish in twelve times twelve mortal years.[5] Nonetheless the Eldar 'aged' at the same speed in Aman as they had done in their beginning upon Middle-earth.

But the Eldar were not *native* to Aman, which had not been, by the Valar, designed for them. In Aman, before their coming, there had dwelt only the Valar and their lesser kindred the Maiar. But for their delight and use there were in Aman also a great multitude of creatures, without *fëar*, of many kinds: animals or moving creatures, and plants that are steadfast. There, it is believed, were the counterparts of all the creatures that are or have been on Earth,[6] and others also that were made for Aman only. And each kind had, as on Earth, its own nature and natural speed of growth.

But since Aman was made for the Valar, that they might have peace and delight therein, all those creatures that were thither transplanted or were trained or bred or brought into being for the purpose of inhabitation in Aman were given a speed of growth such that one year of the life natural to their kinds on Earth should in Aman be one Valian Year.

For the Eldar this was a source of joy. For in Aman the world appeared to them as it does to Men on Earth, but without the shadow of death soon to come. Whereas on Earth to them all things in comparison with themselves were fleeting, swift to change and die or pass away, in Aman they endured and did not so soon cheat love with their mortality. On Earth while an elf-child did but grow to be a man or a woman, in some 3000 years, forests would rise and fall, and all the face of the land would change, while birds and flowers innumerable would be born and die in *löar* upon *löar* under the wheeling Sun.

But beside all this Aman is called also the Blessed Realm, and in this was found its blessedness: in health and joy. For in Aman no creatures suffered any sickness or disorder of their natures; nor was there any decay or ageing more swift than the slow ageing of Arda itself. So that all things coming at last to fullness of form and virtue remained in that state, blissfully, ageing and wearying of their life and being no swifter than the Valar themselves. And this blessing also was granted to the Eldar.

On earth the Quendi suffered no sickness, and the health of their bodies was supported by the might of the longeval *fëar*. But their bodies, being of the stuff of Arda, were nonetheless not so enduring as their spirits; for the longevity of the Quendi was derived

primarily from their *fëar,* whose nature or 'doom' was to abide in Arda until its end. Therefore, after the vitality of the *hröa* was expended in achieving full growth, it began to weaken or grow weary. Very slowly indeed, but to all the Quendi perceptibly. For a while it would be fortified and maintained by its indwelling *fëa,* and then its vitality would begin to ebb, and its desire for physical life and joy in it would pass ever more swiftly away. Then an Elf would begin (as they say now, for these things did not fully appear in the Elder Days) to 'fade', until the *fëa* as it were consumed the *hröa* until it remained only in the love and memory of the spirit that had inhabited it.

But in Aman, since its blessing descended upon the *hröar* of the Eldar, as upon all other bodies, the *hröar* aged only apace with the *fëar*, and the Eldar that remained in the Blessed Realm endured in full maturity and in undimmed power of body and spirit conjoined for ages beyond our mortal comprehension.

Aman and Mortal Men[7]

If it is thus in Aman, or was ere the Change of the World, and therein the Eldar had health and lasting joy, what shall we say of Men? No Man has ever set foot in Aman, or at least none has ever returned thence; for the Valar forbade it. Why so? To the Númenóreans they said that they did so because Eru had forbidden them to admit Men to the Blessed Realm; and they declared also that Men would not there be blessed (as they imagined) but accursed, and would 'wither even as a moth in a flame too bright'.

Beyond these words we can but go in guess. Yet we may consider the matter so. The Valar were not only by Eru forbidden the attempt, they *could not* alter the nature, or 'doom' of Eru, of any of the Children, in which was included the speed of their growth (relative to the whole life of Arda) and the length of their life-span. Even the Eldar in that respect remained unchanged.

Let us suppose then that the Valar had also admitted to Aman some of the Atani, and (so that we may consider a whole life of a Man in such a state) that 'mortal' children were there born, as were children of the Eldar. Then, even though in Aman, a mortal child would still grow to maturity in some twenty years of the Sun, and the natural span of its life, the period of the cohesion of *hröa* and *fëa,* would be no more than, say, 100 years. Not much more, even

though his body would suffer no sickness or disorder in Aman, where no such evils existed. (Unless Men brought these evils with them — as why should they not? Even the Eldar brought to the Blessed Realm some taint of the Shadow upon Arda in which they came into being.)

But in Aman such a creature would be a fleeting thing, the most swift-passing of all beasts. For his whole life would last little more than one half-year, and while all other living creatures would seem to him hardly to change, but to remain steadfast in life and joy with hope of endless years undimmed, he would rise and pass — even as upon Earth the grass may rise in spring and wither ere the winter. Then he would become filled with envy, deeming himself a victim of injustice, being denied the graces given to all other things. He would not value what he had, but feeling that he was among the least and most despised of all creatures, he would grow soon to contemn his manhood, and hate those more richly endowed. He would not escape the fear and sorrow of his swift mortality that is his lot upon Earth, in Arda Marred, but would be burdened by it unbearably to the loss of all delight.

But if any should ask: why could not in Aman the blessing of longevity be granted to him, as it was to the Eldar? This must be answered. Because this would bring joy to the Eldar, their nature being different from that of Men. The nature of an Elvish *fëa* was to endure the world to the end, and an Elvish *hröa* was also longeval by nature; so that an Elvish *fëa* finding that its *hröa* endured with it, supporting its indwelling and remaining unwearied in bodily delight, would have increased and more lasting joy [*sic*]. Some indeed of the Eldar doubt that any special grace or blessing was accorded to them, other than admittance to Aman. For they hold that the failure of their *hröar* to endure in vitality unwearied as long as their *fëar* — a process which was not observed until the later ages — is due to the Marring of Arda, and comes of the Shadow, and of the taint of Melkor that touches all the matter (or *hröa*)8 of Arda, if not indeed of all Ëa. So that all that happened in Aman was that this weakness of the Elvish *hröar* did not develop in the health of Aman and the Light of the Trees.

But let us suppose that the 'blessing of Aman' was also accorded to Men.* What then? Would a great good be done to them? Their bodies would still come swiftly to full growth. In the seventh part of a year a Man could be born and become full-grown, as swiftly as in

Aman a bird would hatch and fly from the nest. But then it would not wither or age but would endure in vigour and in the delight of bodily living. But what of that Man's *fëa*? Its nature and 'doom' could not be changed, neither by the health of Aman nor by the will of Manwë himself. Yet it is (as the Eldar hold) its nature and doom under the will of Eru that it should *not* endure Arda for long, but should depart and go elsewhither, returning maybe direct to Eru for another fate or purpose that is beyond the knowledge or guess of the Eldar.

Very soon then the *fëa* and *hröa* of a Man in Aman would not be united and at peace, but would be opposed, to the great pain of both. The *hröa* being in full vigour and joy of life would cling to the *fëa,* lest its departure should bring death; and against death it would revolt as would a great beast in full life either flee from the hunter or turn savagely upon him. But the *fëa* would be as it were in prison, becoming ever more weary of all the delights of the *hröa*, until they were loathsome to it, longing ever more and more to be gone, until even those matters for its thought that it received through the *hröa* and its senses became meaningless. The Man would not be blessed, but accursed; and he would curse the Valar and Aman and all the things of Arda. And he would not willingly leave Aman, for that would mean rapid death, and he would have to be thrust forth with violence. But if he remained in Aman,[9] what should he come to, ere Arda were at last fulfilled and he found release? Either his *fëa* would be wholly dominated by the *hröa*, and he would become more like a beast, though one tormented within. Or else, if his *fëa* were strong, it would leave the *hröa*. Then one of two things would happen: either this would be accomplished only in hate, by violence, and the *hröa,* in full life, would be rent and die in sudden agony; or else the *fëa* would in loathing and without pity desert the *hröa*, and it would live on, a witless body, not even a beast but a monster, a very work of Melkor in the midst of Aman, which the Valar themselves would fain destroy.

Now these things are but matters of thought, and might-have-beens; for Eru and the Valar under Him have not permitted Men as they are[10] to dwell in Aman. Yet at least it may be seen that Men in Aman would not escape the dread of death, but would have it in greater degree and for long ages. And moreover, it seems probable that death itself, either in agony or horror, would with Men enter into Aman itself.

At this point *Aman* as originally written (see p. 424) continued with the words ‘Now some Men hold that their *hröar* are not indeed by nature short-lived …’, which became the beginning of the introductory passage to the *Athrabeth* (see p. 304).

NOTES

1 The number III and a further title *The Marring of Men* (the other titles remaining) was given to the second part, while *Aman* was numbered II. No writing numbered I is found.

2 It will be seen that, as a consequence of the transformation of the ‘cosmogonic myth’, a wholly new conception of the ‘Valian Year’ had entered. The elaborate computation of Time in the *Annals of Aman* (see pp. 49–51, 59–60) was based on the ‘cycle’ of the Two Trees that had ceased to exist in relation to the diurnal movement of the Sun that had come into being — there was a ‘new reckoning’. But the ‘Valian Year’ is now, as it appears, a ‘unit of perception’ of the passage of the Time of Arda, derived from the capacity of the Valar to perceive at such intervals the process of the ageing of Arda from its beginning to its end. See note 5.

3 My father wrote the following passage (‘They could move backward or forward in thought …’) in the body of the manuscript at this point, but in a small italic script, and I have preserved this form in the text printed; similarly with the following passage that interrupts the main text at the words ‘the unit of Valian time’.

4 ‘we may … use the Valian unit’: in other words, presumably, the old structure of dates in the chronicle of Aman may be retained, although the meaning of those dates in terms of Middle-earth will be radically different. See note 5.

5 There is now a vast discrepancy between Valian Years and ‘mortal years’; cf. also ‘his whole life would last little more than one half-year’ (p. 428), ‘In the seventh part of a year a Man could be born and become full-grown’ (p. 429). In notes not given in this book, in which my father was calculating on this basis the time of the Awakening of Men, he expressly stated that 144 Sun Years = 1 Valian Year (in this connection see Appendix D to *The Lord of the Rings*: ‘It seems clear that the Eldar in Middle-earth … reckoned in long periods, and the

Quenya word *yén* … really means 144 of our years'). Placing the event 'after or about the time of the sack of Utumno, Valian Year 1100' (see pp. 75, 80), a gigantic lapse of time could now be conceived between the 'arising' of Men and their first appearance in Beleriand.

6 For this use of 'Earth' in opposition to 'Aman', very frequent in this essay, see p. 282.

7 The sub-heading *Aman and Mortal Men* was a later addition.

8 With this use of the word *hröa* cf. text VII, p. 399: 'the *hroa*, the "flesh" or physical matter, of Arda'.

9 This passage, from 'And he would not willingly leave Aman …', was a later addition. As the text was written, it continued on from 'all the things of Arda' to 'And what should he come to …'

10 The words 'as they are' were a later addition of the same time as those referred to in notes 7 and 9.

APPENDIX

SYNOPSIS OF THE TEXTS

This list is intended as no more than a very concise statement of the manuscripts and typescripts referred to in this book (other than those in Part Five).

Ainulindalë

B Manuscript, dating from the 1930s, given in V. 155 ff.

C Author's typescript, introducing radical changes in the cosmology, in existence by 1948; see pp. 3–7, 39 ff.

C² Rewriting of B, using the old manuscript (see pp. 3, 7); given in full pp. 8 ff.

D Fine manuscript, the last version of the *Ainulindalë*, developed from C; given in part pp. 29 ff.

Annals of Valinor

AV 1 'The Earliest Annals of Valinor', given in IV. 262 ff.

AV 2 'The Later Annals of Valinor', given in V. 109 ff.

For the rewriting of the opening of AV 2 preceding the Annals of Aman see p. 47.

Annals of Aman

AAm Manuscript, dating from the early 1950s, given in full pp. 48 ff; divided editorially into six sections followed by notes and commentary.

AAm' Author's typescript of the opening of AAm, with many departures from the manuscript (pp. 64–8, 79–80).

AAm typescript A typescript, dating from about 1958 (see pp. 141–2, 300). Annotations and alterations made to this are given at the end of the commentaries on each section of AAm.

Quenta Silmarillion

Q 'The Quenta' (*Qenta Noldorinwa*), dating from 1930, given in IV.76 ff.

QS *Quenta Silmarillion*, fine manuscript abandoned at the end of 1937, given in V.199 ff.

QS typescript; new text (entitled *Eldanyárë*) of the opening chapters, dating from December 1937-January 1938 (see p. 143).
LQ 1 ‘Later Quenta 1’, amanuensis typescript of revised QS, made in 1951 (-2); see p. 141.
LQ 2 ‘Later Quenta 2’, amanuensis typescript incorporating all alterations made to LQ 1, made about 1958; see pp. 141–2.
LQ For the uses of this abbreviation see pp. 184, 200.

Laws and Customs among the Eldar

A Manuscript, given in full in its latter part (pp. 233 ff.), from the point where the typescript B breaks off (see pp. 207–8).
B Author’s typescript, unfinished, given in full pp. 209 ff.

Late recasting and development of parts of The Silmarillion

Vq 1 Author’s typescript developed from LQ 2 Chapter 1 ‘Of the Valar’ (see pp. 199–200).
Vq 2 Author’s typescript following Vq 1, entitled *Valaquenta* (pp. 200 ff.).
FM 1 Manuscript rider to QS; the first text treating the story of Finwë and Míriel (pp. 205 ff.).
FM 2 Author’s typescript, second text of the story of Finwë and Míriel in the *Silmarillion* narrative (pp. 254–5 ff.).
FM 3 Author’s typescript, superseded by FM 4; see pp. 255–6.
FM 4 Author’s typescript, final text of the story of Finwë and Míriel; given in full pp. 256 ff.
A Author’s typescript (continuation of FM 3), superseded by B; see pp. 271–2, 282.
B Author’s typescript (continuation of FM 4), the last, and extensively developed, text of the remainder of the original Chapter 6 and the beginning of Chapter 7 (pp. 272 ff.).

Athrabeth

A Manuscript, given (with author’s typescript version of the introductory section) in full pp. 304 ff.
B, C Amanuensis typescripts (see p. 303).
Commentary Author’s typescript of the Commentary on the *Athrabeth*, with extensive notes; given in full pp. 329 ff.

SEARCHABLE TERMS

The page numbers in this index relate to the printed version of this book; they do not match the pages of your ebook. You can use your ebook reader's search tool to find a specific word or passage.

In this book certain names appear very frequently indeed throughout — in the most extreme cases, *Valar* and *Melkor*, the number of references is well over half the number of pages in the book. Such great blocks of numbers must be of doubtful utility, but I have in fact included all references in the index, apart from the occasional use as in previous volumes of the word *passim* to cover a long run of references from which only a single page is missing here and there. In some cases, as in *Melkor, Elves*, I have in addition listed references to certain central and recurrent topics. On pp. 470–1 will be found an appendix to the index in which I have collected separately the large number of words (many of them specialised terms) in the Elvish languages that occur in the book.

Names occurring in the titles of chapters and other headings are not normally indexed, nor are the names of the recipients of letters; and individual 'Lost Tales' are not given separate entries.

Star-names

The names of the stars and constellations that appear on p. 160 are mostly left unidentified in the index, despite much that has been written on the subject since the publication of *The Silmarillion*; and this is a convenient place to refer to a matter that I neglected to mention in the text of the book. This concerns an isolated manuscript page preserved with the texts of *The Lord of the Rings* at Marquette University; and I am very grateful to Mr Charles B. Elston of Marquette for his help on this question.

One side of this page carries primary drafting for a passage in Chapter 3 (*Of the Coming of the Elves*) of the *Quenta Silmarillion* (§§18a–19), and the other a second draft for the same passage, which though very roughly written almost reaches the text printed on pp. 159–60. I have noticed (p. 158) that in the case of Chapter 3 my father himself made a new text, intervening between the revision carried out on the old pre-*Lord of the Rings* texts and the amanuensis typescript LQ 1; it was in that version of the chapter ('Text A') that the new material in §§18a–19 entered (see p. 166, §19). The place of the Marquette page is thus very clearly defined; as drafting for the passage in Text A it belongs to the 1951 revision of *The Silmarillion*.

In the second, all but final, draft my father is seen in the act of devising the names of the constellations, with various experimental forms before those that appear in the final text were reached; but he set down the names of the stars without any hesitation, thus: *Karnil*, *Luinil*, *Nénar*, *Lumbar*, *Alkarinque*, *Elemmire*. Above *Karnil* he wrote 'M', above *Lumbar* 'S', above *Alkarinque* 'Jup', and above *Elemmire* again 'M'. No letter stands above *Luinil*, but above *Nénar* there is an 'N' which was struck out (Mr Elston informs me that this 'N' is perfectly clear in the original and that no other interpretation is possible).

Now if *Alkarinque* is Jupiter, then a great red star named *Karnil* and marked with 'M' must be Mars (cf. Michael Ramer's name *Karan* for Mars, IX.220) — which in turn leads to the identification of *Lumbar* ('S') with Saturn, and *Elemmire* ('M') with Mercury. In an article by Jorge Quiñonez and Ned Raggett, *Nólë i Meneldilo*, *Lore of the Astronomer*, published in the periodical *Vinyar Tengwar* no. 12 (July 1990), the authors concluded that my father originally intended *Nénar* ('N') for the planet Neptune, but transferred the identification to *Luinil*, *Nénar* thus becoming Uranus. The six names, therefore, are the Elvish names of the planets other than Venus (*Eärendil*); and this conclusion appears to be no mere ingenious deduction but to derive from my father's own clear indications.

Nonetheless, I find it so extraordinary as to be altogether incredible. It is to be remembered that the six names appear in the context of the making by Varda of 'new stars *and brighter* against the coming of the First-born': they must be the names of very conspicuous objects in the heavens of Arda. That Mars and Jupiter, if not Saturn, should appear among them would seem inevitable, seeing that in my father's astronomical myth the planets were never distinguished from the 'fixed stars'; but how is it to be thought that *Nénar* and *Luinil*, self-evidently the names of great lights in the region of Ilmen, should refer to Uranus and Neptune, faint and minute among 'the innumerable stars', the one barely visible to the naked eye, and the other not at all? Reference in this connection to the extraordinary powers of sight possessed by the Elves is beside the point: because from the astronomical myth as presented in the *Annals of Aman* and in the first post-*Lord of the Rings* revision of the *Quenta Silmarillion* the entire conceptual basis of the astronomy by which the remote planets of the Solar System were discoverable must of very nature be absent. But what then is to be said of the letter 'N' written above the name *Nénar*?

It seems to me quite possible that the six names existed before the writing of the draft page now at Marquette, even if they were never written down, and further, that some of them did not possess specific identifications with our names — though *Karnil* was surely always Mars, and *Alkarinque* no doubt Jupiter. On this hypothesis, I could well imagine (it would not be uncharacteristic) that as he reflected on these names my father amused himself by extending the list to include all the planets (with

the exception of the Evening Star — and Pluto!), and whimsically, as one might say, with a sense both of appropriate ness (associating the stem *nen-* 'water' with the sea-god) and essential inappropriateness, wrote in the N of Neptune above *Nénar*.

This is not of course offered as a formal and precise proposal in explanation of this extremely puzzling fact, but it does seem to me that something on these lines is very much more probable than that he seriously intended the name *Nénar* to signify the planet Neptune.

Adanel Sister of Hador Lórindol; a 'Wise-woman'. 305–7, 309, 313, 328, 344–5; Tale of Adanel 344–9, 354, 360
Adûnaic 4, 7, 28, 42
Aegnor Son of Finarfin (=Finrod (1)). 177, 323–4, (325–6), 327, 335, 357; *Ægnor* 197; earlier form *Egnor* 113, 121, 125–6, 177, 182, 195–7, 327–8. See *Aikanár*.
Ælfwine Ælfwine of England, the Mariner. 5, 8, 11–12, 14–17, 22, 25–6, 30, 35–6, 40, 42, 65, 110, 121, 123–4, 127–8, 130, 136, 143, 153–4, (157), 160, 163, 166, 168, 175–6, 179, 185, 192, 195, 198, 200, 202, 208–9, 225, 231–2, 257, 271, 326. See *Eriol*.
Aeluin Tarn Aeluin, lake on Dorthonion. 325
Aftercomers Men. 111–12, 121, 130. See *Followers*, *Hildi*.
Aikanár 'Sharp-flame', Aegnor son of Finarfin. 323–4
Ainulindalë (not as title) 66, 74, 110, 409. See *Music of the Ainur*.
Ainur (not including *Music of the Ainur*) 8–14, 21, 23–8, 36–9, 41, 43, 49, 65–6, 105, 144–5, 149–50, 244, 253, 271, 336–8, 345, 352, 359, 376, 378–80, 384; singular *Ainu* 12; *the Holy Ones* 8, 12, 14, 42, 359
Akallabêth 179
Alamanyar Elves of the Great March who never reached Aman (Sindar and Nandor). 163–4, 170–1, 173, 223, 232. (Replaced *Ekelli*, replaced by *Úmanyar*.)
Aldaron Name of Oromë. 124, 146, 202. See *Tauron*.
Aldudénië The Lament for the Trees, made by Elemmírë. 100, 105, 166, 288, 292
Alkarinque The planet Jupiter. 160, 166; *Alcarinquë* 166. See pp. 434–5.
All-father Ilúvatar. 8, 39; *Eru Allfather* 112
Almaren First abode of the Valar in Arda, an island in a great lake. 7, 23, 32–3, 38, 52–4, 60–1, 133, 179; earlier form *Almar* 7, 18, 23, (25), 27, 38. Earlier names *Eccuilë* 22, *Eremar* 23. See *Great Lake*.
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Altariellë Galadriel. 182
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Ambar 'Earth'. 28, 359, 382–3, 385; *Ambar-endya* 'Middle-earth' 76; *Ambar-metta* 359. See *Imbar*.
Ambarkanta 22, 26, 28–9, 39, 63–4, 76–8, 88–90, 123, 126, 135–6, 157, 373
Amon Uilos 154. See *Taniquetil*.
Amrod and Amras Later names of Damrod and Díriel. 177. On the death of one of the brothers at Losgar see 128.
Anar (1) Of uncertain meaning (see 44): *Halls of Anar* 22–3, 40, 44, *Kingdom of Anar* 22, 41, 44. (2) The Sun. 40, 44, 130–2, 134, 136, 198, 377, 382 (*Fire-golden* 130, 198); *Anor* 44.
Anárion Son of Elendil. 44
Anarríma Name of a constellation. 160
Andreth 'Wise-woman' of the House of Bëor. 303–28, 333–6, 338, 343–5, 349, 351–4, 357–9, 364–5, 390. See *Saelind*.
Anduin 82, 89; *the River* 83; *the Great River of Wilderland* 89
Andúnë The West. 23
Angainor The chain with which Melkor was bound. 75, 161, 167, 391–3; earlier *Angaino, Angainu* 168
Angband 67, 109–10, 124, (127), 131, 156, 167, 197, 284, 291, 295, 297–8, 306, 341, 350, 419, 421, 423; *the Siege of Angband* 305, 307, 324(-5), 328, 336, 357(-8); Quenya *Angamando* 350
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Angrod Son of Finarfin (= Finrod (1)). 113, 121, 125–6, 177, 182, 195–6, 328
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Arafinwë Finarfin. 230, 238, 265. See *Ingalaurë*.
Aragorn 211, 341, 359
Araman Wasteland beneath the Pelóri and the Sea, north of Taniquetil. 108, 115, 117, 119, 123, 132, 134, 194, 198, 283, 291, 295. (Replaced *Eruman*.)
Aran Endór 'King of Middle-earth' (Morgoth). 121, 126. See *Endor*, *Tarumbar*, *King of the World*.
Aratar The High Ones of Arda. 203. See (*The*) *Great Ones*.
Araw Oromë. 124
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15–17, 20, 22, 25–31, 34–5, 37–9, 41, 43–4, 48–71 *passim*, 74–5, 80, 87, 93–4, 97, 99–100, 105, 112, 114–15, 118, 120, 129–30, 132, 135–7, 144–5, 147, 151–4, 159, 161, 172, 179, 187, 201–3, 206–7, 209–10, 212, 215, 217–20, 222–8, 231–5, 237, 240–55 *passim*, 258–60, 267–71, 275, 280–2, 284–6, 295, 304, 308–9, 311–22, 325–6, 331–43 *passim*, 349, 351–2, 354, 356–9, 361–5, 372–406 *passim*, 410, 416, 419, 424–31.

King of Arda, see *Manwë; Queen of Arda,* see *Varda; Girdle of Arda* 115, 135. For *the Tale of Arda* see (*The*) *Great Tale*; for *Arda Marred, Arda Unmarred*, etc. see (*The*) *Marring of Arda*; for the later meaning of *Arda* see references under *Solar System*; and see *(The) Earth, Rulers of Arda*, *Spring of Arda*.

Arien The Sun-maiden. 130–4, 136–7, 198, 385, 405. Other, late names: *Áren* 376, *Ár(i)* 380, 385, *Ázië* 380, *Árië* 380–1, 386; Old English names *Dægred* 130, 136, *Dægbore* 198

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Arvalin Wasteland between the Pelóri and the Sea, south of Taniquetil. 97–8, 105, 108, 132, 184, 190, 290–1. (Replaced by *Vastuman, Avathar*.)

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Âs The Sun. 380–1; *Asa* 381

Astaldo Name of Tulkas. 149. (Replaced *Poldórëa*.)

Atanatárion 'Legendarium of the Fathers of Men'. 373

Atandil 'Friend of the Atani', name of Finrod Felagund. 306, 349. See *Edennil*.

Atani The Followers, Men; Western Men. 7, 30, 36, 39, 314, 317, 320–1, 323, 349, 352, 428. See *Edain*; (*The*) *Seekers*.

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Avallonian Quenya. 136. See *Eressëan*.

Avari 'The Unwilling', Elves who refused the Great March, 82, 88, 109, 123, 130, 162–3, 169–70, 416

Avathar 'The Shadows', later name of Arvalin. 284, 286, 291, 295, 298. See *Vastuman*.

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Bauglir Name of Morgoth. 146 (*the Constrainer*), 149, 151; *Baugron* 149, 151
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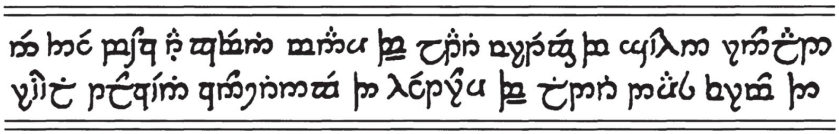
OTHER BOOKS BY J.R.R. TOLKIEN



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* Cf. the text (§7): ‘nine and one half and eight hundredths and *yet a little*’.

* Pencilled beside ‘1’ is ‘YT’ (Year of the Trees), and also ‘YV 3501’ (i.e. Year of the Valar). – The ‘YT’ dates were very frequently changed on the manuscript, and it is in places very difficult to interpret the changes; I give only the final forms (see pp. 47–8).

* [footnote to the text] In the Annals of Beleriand it is said that this he did in the Dark ere ever the Quendi were found by Oromë.

* Marginal notes against *Arien* and *Tilion:* ‘dægred *Æ*’ and ‘hyrned *Æ*’.

* This word refers to a letter from Lord Halsbury, who had said: ‘I can quite see that there is a struggle ahead to re-mould it into the requisite form for publication’ (cited earlier in my father’s letter to Rayner Unwin).

* No doubt many of the corrections to LQ 1 as a whole belong to the ‘second phase’ of revision (p. 142), while LQ 2 and the corrections made to it are constituent elements in that phase; but it is obviously far more convenient and clear to set them all out together in relation to the primary text LQ 1.

* [footnote to the text] Which is Gársecg: quoth Ælfwine. [This note was mistakenly placed in the text by the typist, and subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

** [footnote to the text] In the language of this island of Men *Heofonsýl* was its name among those few that ever descried it afar off. Yet in error [> So I wrote in error], as the Eldar teach me; for that is rightly the name only of the mountain of Númenor, the Meneltarma, which has foundered for ever: quoth Ælfwine. [This note was also mistakenly placed in the text by the typist. See the commentary on §13.]

* [footnote to the text] Other names of Laurelin among the Noldor [> in the Sindarin tongue] are [> were] *Glewellin* (which is the same as *Laurelin*, song of gold), *Lasgalen* green of leaf, and *Melthinorn* tree of gold; and her image in Gondolin was named *Glingal*. [*Struck out:* Of old among the Noldor] The Elder Tree was named also *Silivros* glimmering [> sparkling] rain, *Celeborn* tree of silver, and *Nimloth* pale blossom. But in after days *Galathilion the Less* was the name of the White Tree of Túna, and his seedling was named *Celeborn* in Eressëa, and *Nimloth* in Númenor, the gift of the Eldar. The image of Telperion that Turgon made in Gondolin was *Belthil*. Quoth Pengolod. [Like the previous ones this footnote was put into the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1, but afterwards reinstated in its proper place.]

* [footnote to the text] The Gnomes they may be called in our tongue, quoth Ælfwine. (The word that he uses is *Witan*. More is said of this matter in the Tenth Chapter where the tale speaks of the Edain.) [See the commentary on §26.]

* [footnote to the text] *lómelindi*: ‘dusk-singers’ = nightingales.

* [footnote to the text] And some have told that the great isle of Balar, that lay of old in that bay, was the eastern horn of the Lonely Isle, that broke asunder and remained behind, when Ulmo removed that land again into the West. Quoth Rúmil. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

* [footnote to the text] *Avallónë* also it was after called, signifying the isle that lies nighest unto the Valar in Valinor. Quoth Ælfwine. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

* [footnote to the text] That is the Watchful City. *Eldamar* (that is Elvenhome) it was also called; but the regions where the Elves dwelt, and whence the stars could be seen, were called *Elendë,* or *Eldanor* (that is Elvenland): quoth Ælfwine. [Placed in the body of the text by the typist of LQ 1 but subsequently reinstated as a footnote.]

* [footnote to the text] That is Byrde Míriel (the Broideress): quoth Ælfwine.

* The beginning of this paragraph corresponds in content to the end of QS §49.

* [footnote to the text] Thus she named her son: *Spirit-of-Fire:* and by that name he was known among the Eldar. [*Fëanáro* is so spelt here, but *Feänáro* subsequently.]

* Short as the Eldar reckoned time. In mortal count there was often a long interval between the wedding and the first child-birth, and even longer between child and child.

* Save for such changes as might befall its spoken form in the passing of the long years; for (as is elsewhere told) even the tongues of the Eldar were subject to change.

* This *lámatyávë* was held a mark of individuality, and more important indeed than others, such as stature, colour, and features of face.

** This sentiment had thus nothing to do with ‘magic’ or with taboos, such as are found among Men.

† The Eldar hold that, apart from ill chances and the destruction of their bodies, they may in the course of their years each exercise and enjoy all the varied talents of their kind, whether of skill or of lore, though in different order and in different degrees. With such changes of ‘mind-mood’ or *inwisti* their *lámatyáver* might also change. But such changes or progressions were in fact seen most among the *neri*, for the *nissi*, even as they came sooner to maturity, remained then more steadfast and were less desirous of change. [According to the Eldar, the only ‘character’ of any person that was not subject to change was the difference of sex. For this they held to belong not only to the body (*hrondo*) [> (*hröa*)] but also to the mind (*inno*) [> (*indo*)] equally: that is, to the person as a whole. This person or individual they often called *essë* (that is ‘name’), but it was also called *erdë*, or ‘singularity’. Those who returned from Mandos, therefore, after the death of their first body, returned always to the same name and to the same sex as formerly.]

* Though the form *Fëanor* which it took later in the speech of Beleriand is more often used. [> (*later*) Though the form *Fëanor*, which is more often used, was a blend of Q[uenya] *Fëanáro* and S[indarin] *Faenor*.]

* Save in rare and strange cases: that is, where the body that the *fëa* had forsaken was whole, and remained still coherent and incorrupt. But this could seldom happen; for death unwilling could occur only when great violence was done to the body; and in death by will, such as at times befell because of utter weariness or great grief, the *fëa* would not desire to return, until the body, deserted by the spirit, was dissolved. This happened swiftly in Middle-earth. In Aman only was there no decay. Thus Míriel was there rehoused in her own body, as is hereafter told.

* In some cases a *fëa* re-born might have the same parents again. For instance, if its first body had died in early youth. But this did not often happen; neither did a *fëa* necessarily re-enter its own former kin, for often a great length of time passed before it wished or was permitted to return.

† Though the griefs might be great and wholly unmerited, and death (or rather the abandonment of life) might be, therefore, understandable and innocent, it was held that the refusal to return to life, after repose in Mandos, was a fault, showing a weakness or lack of courage in the *fëa*.

* For only those who willingly go to Mandos may be re-born. Re-birth is a grace, and comes of the power that Eru committed to the Valar for the ruling of Arda and the redress of its marring. It does not lie in the power of any *fëa* in itself. Only those return whom, after Mandos has spoken the doom of release, Manwë and Varda bless.

* In the case of a decision never to return to life by a *fëa* of the Dead, the least time of interval appointed by Mandos was ten Valian years. During this period the decision could be revoked.

* Five children she bore, three daughters and two sons, in this order: Findis, Nolofinwë, Faniel, Arafinwë, and Irimë. Concerning the naming of the sons we have spoken above.

* By this is meant primarily the *fëar* naked and unhoused. Living, the *fëar* can be deluded; and they can be dominated by fear (of one of great power such as Melkor) and so enslaved. But these things are wicked and tyrannous and are done by Melkor alone among the Valar. They beget only hatred and loathing in the enslaved (which is the sign of inmost and ultimate dissent). To no good purpose can such means be used, for they render all purposes evil.

* Meaning that though they appeared in the Great Theme, they were introduced by Eru himself, not mediated by any of the Ainur; and even so they were not fully revealed to the Ainur.

* By which was meant prophecy concerning things which neither reason upon evidence, nor (for the Valar) knowledge of the Great Theme, could discover or swiftly perceive. Only rarely and in great matters was Mandos moved to prophecy.

* Yet after the slaying of the Trees it did so while Melkor remained there; and the body of Finwë, slain by Melkor, was withered and passed into dust, even as the Trees themselves had withered.

* *Arda Hastaina*, or ‘Arda Marred’, as they named it. For *Arda*, or in full *Arda Alahasta*, the ‘Unmarred’, they named the thought which they had, each severally, or as a Council under Manwë, of that Arda in which Melkor had no part.

* [footnote to the text] *Fëanáro* in the form of the speech of those days.

† [footnote to the text] *Míriel Serinde*: that is *Byrde Míriel* (Míriel the Broideress): quoth Ælfwine.

* [footnote to the text] But it is said that after a time she was permitted to return to the house of Vairë, and there it was her part to record in web and broidery all the histories of the Kin of Finwë and the deeds of the Noldor.

* [footnote to the text] The lark.

† [footnote to the text] Findis, Fingolfin, Finvain, [Finarphin >] Finarfin and Faniel: three daughters, and two sons (Fingolfin and Finarfin).

* Cf. the story referred to in the old ‘Sketch of the Mythology’, that ‘Lúthien went even over the Grinding Ice, aided by the power of her divine mother, Melian, to Mandos’ halls’ (IV.25, 55).

* [footnote to the text] The Shadows (in ancient Quenya).

* [footnote to the text] As is told in the *Ainulindalë*. [The same reference to the *Ainulindalë* (§25) is made in AAm §109.]

* [footnote to the text] The Lament for the Two Trees.

* [footnote to the text] By that name only was he known to the Eldar ever after. (In the ancient form used by Fëanor it was *Moriñgotho*.) [Cf. the note added in LQ to QS §60 (p. 194), where the ancient form is *Moringotto*.]

* [footnote to the text] The Great Echo.

* [footnote to the text] Eryd Wethrin on the borders of Beleriand.

† [footnote to the text] The Valley of Dreadful Death.

* [footnote to the text] This would be about 409 during the Long Peace (260–455). At that time Belemir and Adanel were old in the reckoning of Men, being some 70 years of age; but Andreth was in full vigour, being not yet 50 (48). She was unwed, as was not uncommon for Wise-women of Men.

** [footnote to the text] He was 93.

† [footnote to the text] In 310, about 100 years before this.

* [marginal note] It is or would be in any case a ‘fact of life’ for any intelligence that chose the Earth for a place of life and labour. [There is no indication where this is to go, but nowhere else on the page seems suitable.]

* [marginal note] But not to drive it away. It was necessary to have an alternation, ‘because in Eä according to the Tale nothing can endure endlessly without weariness and corruption.’

* [marginal note] Indeed some say that it was released from Eä.

† [marginal note] Also some of the Wise have said that the ordering of Arda, as to the placing and courses of its parts, was disarrayed by Melkor, so that the Earth was at times drawn too near to the Sun, and at others went too far off.

* [footnote to the text] For it is indeed of the nature of Eä and the Great History that naught may stay unchanged in time, and things which do so, or appear to do so, or endeavour to remain so, become a weariness, and are loved no longer (or are at best unheeded).

* [footnote to the text] One of the reasons for his self-weakening is that he has given to his ‘creatures’, Orcs, Balrogs, etc. *power of recuperation and multiplication*. So that they will gather again without further specific orders. Part of his native creative power has gone out into making an independent evil growth out of his control.

* [footnote to the text] Every finite creature must have some weakness: that is some inadequacy to deal with some situations. It is not sinful when not willed, and when the creature does his best (even if it is not what should be done) as he sees it — with the conscious intent of serving Eru.

† [footnote to the text] Tulkas represents the good side of ‘violence’ in the war against evil. This is an absence of all compromise which will even face apparent evils (such as war) rather than parley; and does not (in any kind of pride) think that any one less than Eru can redress this, or rewrite the tale of Arda.

* [footnote to the text] If such things were forced upon his attention, he was angry and hated them, as coming from other minds than his own.

** [bracketed note inserted into the text] Melkor could not, of course, ‘annihilate’ anything of matter, he could only ruin or destroy or corrupt the forms given to matter by other minds in their sub-creative activities.

† [footnote without indication of reference in the text] For this reason he himself came to fear ‘death’ — the destruction of his assumed bodily form — above everything, and sought to avoid any kind of injury to his own form.

* [footnote to the text] But his capability of corrupting other minds, and even engaging their service, was a residue from the fact that his original desire for ‘order’ had really envisaged the good estate (especially physical well-being) of his ‘subjects’.

* [marginal note] All rational minds / spirits deriving direct from Eru are ‘equal’ – in order and status – though not necessarily ‘coëval’ or of like original power.

* [footnote to the text] Since the minds of Men (and even of the Elves) were inclined to confuse the ‘Void’, as a conception of the state of Not-being, outside Creation or Ëa, with the conception of vast *spaces* within Ëa, especially those conceived to lie all about the enisled ‘Kingdom of Arda’ (which we should probably call the Solar System).

* [footnote to the text] *Boldog*, for instance, is a name that occurs many times in the tales of the War. But it is possible that *Boldog* was not a personal name, and either a title, or else the name of a kind of creature: the Orc-formed Maiar, only less formidable than the Balrogs.

* [footnote to the text] Few Orcs ever did so in the Elder Days, and at no time would any Orc treat with any Elf. For one thing Morgoth had achieved was to convince the Orcs beyond refutation that the Elves were crueller than themselves, taking captives only for ‘amusement’, or to eat them (as the Orcs would do at need).

* [footnote to the text] But there remained one flaw in his control, inevitable. In the kingdom of hate and fear, the strongest thing is hate. All his Orcs hated one another, and must be kept ever at war with some ‘enemy’ to prevent them from slaying one another.

* Or (as some Men hold) that their *hröar* are *not* by nature short-lived, but have become so through the malice of Melkor over and above the general marring of Arda, and that this hurt could be healed and undone in Aman.